

nafteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: the law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared, that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'elire* from the crown, or in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed: the law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament. In this submission the clergy acknowledged, that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery\*. But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catharine was declared unlawful. The primate's sentence annulling it was ratified: and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of misprision of treason. After these compliances the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against Catharine, on account of her obstinacy, is supposed to have been the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown. The oath which related to the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was disliked on account of some practices into which his credulity seems to have betrayed him: but as More was a person of the greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would influence the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared, that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: he offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catharine was unlawful. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, entreated him to

lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal. He persisted, however, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

On the 3d of November the parliament was again assembled. This parliament conferred on the king the title of supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it†. They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason; and they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving all the benefits of the English laws to that principality. Thus the authority of the popes was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions. Indulgencies had formerly tended to enrich the holy see; but being abused, they served to excite the first commotions and oppositions in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined, between the contending jurisdictions. A way was prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason and policy had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though it may sometimes employ the former to an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting the reform.

During the time that Henry proceeded with so much order in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was somewhat disturbed by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland. The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Offory, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to O'Neal, O'Carrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare mean while died in prison, and his son, persevering in

\* We may here observe, that the king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered, that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom; and they voted that the bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that

they took out new commissioners from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. 11.

† In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.



his revolt, applied to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to lord Leonard Grey, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles had pretended to join the king's party in order to save the family.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and having gotten possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his consort, bred him greater disturbance. For having separated herself from him, on account of some disgust, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence he incited first Walter Scot, then earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour in repressing those disorders, which though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of such an ally, to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over every other consideration. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negotiations with an enemy of the holy see. Henry concluded from these measures, that he could depend very little on the friendship of his nephew. But those events did not take place till some time after the period we are at present treating of.

The opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people who felt the power of

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interest in their own breast, could perceive the purpose of those inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacrament, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during some time, at a loss how to choose their party. The ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere, but indolent, acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in an habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and immutable.

The first progress of the reformers was greatly forwarded by their offering to submit all religious doctrines to private judgement, and then desiring every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgement, while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics: these motives were prevalent with the people; and by such considerations were men so generally induced during that age to throw off the religion of their ancestors. But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgement was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers, increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer, and other anabaptists in Germany, furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation.

We cannot find any European prince who was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition, could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. Besides this political jealousy, there was another reason which inspired Henry with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the



most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the Romish church, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his speculative principles. Henry's ministers and courtiers too were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as by inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the Protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith, and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, rendered him very useful. Notwithstanding the irreconcilable difference between the religious opinions of the ministers, they were obliged to disguise them, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith; and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: the king, mean while, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled by the courtship paid him, both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority. And though in all his measures he was driven by his ungoverned humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: but while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper, were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.

\* This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity, had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles, which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to

We may here observe, that the ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served to encourage the protestant doctrine among the subjects. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp, where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces, served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible road to perdition, was a reliance on good works; by which terms they understood as well the moral duties, as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of good works; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books composed by these fugitives, having stolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the Scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonstal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage in the gentlest manner these innovations, gave secret orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the Oracles of Truth.

The disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore so small a regard to the ecclesiastical order, that he did not serve as an instrument of their tyranny: it was even an article of impeachment against him, that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age\*.

Such was the spirit of the times, that many were brought into the bishop's court for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of party: some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages; to harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the faults of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences†. Though Henry neglected not

the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. Fox.

† One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but his appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or



to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's \*." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but shewed no other mark of resentment, than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence †. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: when the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames. Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land ‡.

About this time several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, the primate, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and Masters easily persuaded them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. She soon learned to counterfeit trances; and uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure;

and being brought before it in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the Virgin §. This miracle was soon dispersed abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catharine. She even asserted that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth ||. Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspiration of the new prophets. Messages were carried from her to queen Catharine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused \*\*. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the star chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture ††; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, and Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth ‡‡: and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophets's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with Heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for purposes of a very different nature.

This imposture, as may be readily imagined, was attended with so many odious circumstances in the detection, that the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, was hurt, and the king was instigated to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars, in the beginning of 1535; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of

to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In

short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors. Hume.

\* Strype, vol. 1. p. 167.

† Collier, vol. 11. p. 86. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 151.

‡ Stowe, p. 562.

§ Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles.

|| Strype, vol. 1. p. 181.

\*\* Collier, vol. 11. p. 87.

†† 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.

‡‡ Godwin's Annals, p. 53.



power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: they had lately added to his other titles, that of Supreme Head of the Church: it was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives, for this new species of guilt\*.

The king now having an inclination to strike terror into the whole nation, resolved to make examples of Fisher and More, and accordingly proceeded to their trials. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for the ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favours which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags. In this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompence the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about the dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted on the 22d of June, for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and shortly after executed. The beheading of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, and the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor-general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: he was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword; if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy†. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend help me up, and when I come down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading of me, my

"neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of his end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as he followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the fifty-third year of his age.

The execution of these great men was soon after reported at Rome, when every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III. of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: and the king himself was desirous of accommodating matters in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis; a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as so great an injury, that he passed censures against the king on the 3d of August, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use. But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

The king now renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the protestant league in Germany; and Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Fox, bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, lord of Langley, to treat with them. But during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions. Henry proceeded so far, as to invite over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturm, and other Ger-

\* It was certainly a high instance of tyranny, says Home, to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that no wise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: but the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what,

during many ages, it had been heretofore to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress, pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities.

† More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.



man divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. The German princes told the king, that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of their refusal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they could always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor. And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these princes.

While the negotiations were going on, an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catharine was seized with a lingering illness, which ended with her life. She died at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, on the 6th of January, 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of "her most dear Lord, King, and Husband." She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: that though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words; "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king was touched even to shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catharine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of her rival.

The emperor imagined that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions; that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself. As to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then, as a common friend both to him and Francis, be ready either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

Henry became more indifferent to the advances of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch; and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who should be noxious to no party, and he

even made offer of it to the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in that liberal concession seemed to be his desire to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion in Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill becoming people of their high rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near thirty thousand in number, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent continental wars.

Whatever inquietude remained with the English court, was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, receiving intelligence of the dangerous situation of his ally Francis, levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels hired for that purpose, landed them in France; whither he went in person; and making haste to join the French camp, which then lay in Provence, he met the French monarchs at Lyons, who having repulsed the emperor, was returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match, than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with a speedy dissolution. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend: they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid lest his ally Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased that this close union between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humour and passion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The peace of England seemed now to be exposed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and in this dangerous conjuncture nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity: and the important rank which his vigour, more than his address, acquired him in foreign negotiations, flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed.



The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after laying the foundation for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at length determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their revenues, which were very ample.

The number of monasteries had greatly increased; and if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations being established every where proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England; and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen, that in the progress of the contest he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. The friars, moved by these considerations, employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general\*. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who every where made a rigorous enquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of the friars. Friars were encouraged to inform against their brethren, the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Great disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. Some monasteries, terrified with the rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners,

surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which had been the objects of the most profound veneration to their ancestors.

Henry, though determined to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament on the 4th of February to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues not amounting to two hundred pounds a year†.

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependence. Farther progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's court was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished this session. The commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law, such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, that the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust. After all these laws were passed the king dissolved the parliament on the 14th of April.

The convocation which sat during this session was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the Scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them, that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections‡.

While

\* This was a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him.

† By this act, 27 H. VIII. c. 28, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: so absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds; and the people concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony.

‡ The friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of Heaven, which had been revealed for the benefit of mankind: that if this practice were not absurd, the artifice at least was gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence: that it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter, which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from Heaven: and that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and

men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the Holy Scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again by their means laid before mankind. The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom Heaven itself, had appointed for their spiritual direction: that the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: that even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had in a great measure deprived them of the right of private judgement, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour. That theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision: except by the promise made them in Scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should



While the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness Anne Boleyn possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch \*. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they endeavoured to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's fondness for male issue being thus disappointed, he was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy. Though Anne appears to have been innocent, and virtuous in her conduct, she had a certain gaiety, if not levity of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her exalted situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Her enemies put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: the viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and, not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston, and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Somerton, groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance, and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury. Henry's jealousy was not derived from love, but it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride: his love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymore, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of great beauty and merit, had obtained an ascendant over him; and he was determined to sa-

crifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honoured than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid by forming that legal connection. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate queen.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, on the 1st of May, 1536, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and praying to God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprize and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation, she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him, that he probably expected her when she should be a widow: she had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers, and her indifference towards his wife: but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself: upon which she desied him. She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord: but she acknowledged that he once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intercourses.

Notwithstanding the multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned.

should not prevail against her: that the gross errors adopted by the wisest Heathens, proved how unfit men were to search their own way through this profound darkness; nor would the Scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgement, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment those fatal illusions: that Sacred Writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be entrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the Scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most absurd principles: and that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the

tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or enquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure establishments. These latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Crammer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures; and in three year's time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause.

\* Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted, and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort.

Even



Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped; that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her. The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence\*. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: but he generously rejected the proposal; and said, "That in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: but for his part, he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person."

The queen, and her brother George Boleyn, viscount Rocheford, were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: their uncle the duke of Norfolk presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown: the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions, that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatever: "which was to the slander of the issue

"begotten between the king and her." By this strained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. These absurdities were admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, "That she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure." When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to Heaven, said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." And then turning to the judge, made the most pathetic declaration of her innocence. Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court, some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: he received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king. The afflicted primate who sat as judge, thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: "From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this

\* This letter contains so much nature, and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted to posterity, without any alteration in the mode of expression. It is as follows:

"Sir,

"Your Grace's displeasure and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your Grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion far beyond my desert and desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your Grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my

accusers and judges; yet let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgement-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgement I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who, (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this 6th of May;

"Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

"world,



"world, he was sending her to be a saint in Heaven." She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower; and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant; "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, on the 19th of May, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of queen Catharine, and her opposition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: her own material concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments, over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered, naturally excited in her. She said, "That she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law: she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged." She prayed heartily for the king; called him "a most merciful and gentle prince;" and acknowledged "that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign;" and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired them "to judge the best\*." She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower of London †.

The lady Mary now thought of reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father, containing her assent to the articles required of her: upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

The king now imagined it necessary to summon a new parliament; which was accordingly done on the 8th of June; and he, here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, "That he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they

"were the gift of Almighty God only." Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds, than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former, in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified ‡; that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

By this parliament the king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age: whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a *præmunire*; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of the law. And any person who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of "So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists §." The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry: but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become regardless of papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them.

The complaisance of the convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly; and as the zeal of

\* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 205.

† The innocence of this unfortunate queen, says Hume, cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour

the very day after her execution. His impatience to gratify this new passion, caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

‡ The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason, "For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

§ 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.



the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses: but the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent; and the new-assumed prerogative, the supremacy, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwell presided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprized to find him still maintain the same credit as before\*. The church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven†, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. The convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared: the real presence was asserted conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles. So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition, by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles, each of them seems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by Scripture; the protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedient of praying to saints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind. But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose; "Since, according to due order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and since such a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning; all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the same. But since the place where departed souls are retained, before they reach Paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by Scripture; all such questions are to be submitted to God, to whose

mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them ‡."

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above-mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all other countries, where factious divisions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neutrals were to be found. The protestants all of them carried their opposition to Rome farther than those articles: none of the catholics went so far. And the king, by being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprizes which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: and he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, to his most refined subtilties.

The concurrence of these two national assemblies served to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to a greater authority, than any prince in Europe was ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the pity and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others, employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended greatly to increase the general discontent. But the people did not break into open sedition, till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell

\* With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer, bishop of Worcester; Shaxton, of Salisbury; Hilsey, of Rochester; Fox, of Hereford; and Barlow, of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee, archbishop of York; Stokesley, bishop of London; Tontal, of Durham; Gardiner, of Winchester; Longland, of Lincoln; Sherborne, of Chichester; Nix, of Norwich; and Kite, of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: the latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: and both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

† These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said, "That they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledged their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the pope's usurped authority, which and his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king, and the laws made within this kingdom. Collier, vol. II. p. 119.

‡ Collier, vol. II. p. 127, & seqq. Fuller, Bucer, vol. I. p. 215.



person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority which he exercised being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror\*. The first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of Captain Cobler†. They acknowledged the king to be the supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: and they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances. Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that repentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malecontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being so well supported by power, he thought that, without losing his dignity, he might now shew them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: the populace was dispersed: Mackrel, and some of their leaders, fell into the king's hands, and were executed: the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations: a few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the insurrection that was raised in those parts.

Those who had rose in the north, as they were more numerous, were also on other accounts, more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might take advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace‡. The earl of Shrewsbury raised some forces, though without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough Castle against them: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: they had laid siege to Pontefract-Castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord D'Arcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels. The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause

which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army scarcely exceeded five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord D'Arcy on the other. It was agreed, that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped to sow the seeds of dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security; but the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman, or other whom he esteemed so little, as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their number and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received power for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, on the 9th of December, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty stile, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgement with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange" that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do

\* He published in the king's name, without the consent of parliament or convocation, an ordinance, by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitious gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to divert a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grovelling servitude, instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

† This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thousand men; but notwithstanding their number, they shewed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority.

‡ Their enterprise they called the Pilgrimage of Grace:

some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands: in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice and of the five wounds of Christ: they wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: they all made oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving baseborn persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about forty thousand men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

" take



"take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council."

This pacification did not seem likely to be of long continuance; for Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord D'Arcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out in 1537, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with eight thousand men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam to surprize Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by commands from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord D'Arcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-Hill\*. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, the king published a new general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding law-suits in the northern counties: a demand which had been made by the rebels.

Not long after, on the 12th of October, the queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward. But the birth of this son cost the queen her life, for she died two days after†. But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, lord St. John; Sir John Russell, lord Russell.

The suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expence on his account. A

truce, concluded in 1530, between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established Europe in a state of peace.

The king continued desirous of cementing a union with the German protestants; and for that purpose he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king, that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the Eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy‡. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enough to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. He became jealous also lest his own subjects should question his tenets, and therefore he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the Scripture which was finished this year§.

Henry's profusion made him always in want of money; and therefore he determined the suppression of the greater monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favourable for that enterprize, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the revenues belonging to the various monasteries. In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

In order to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was

\* Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's services, and convinced of his fidelity or afraid to offend one of such extensive and great capacity, rejected the information.

† Thus Rapin, book xv. and Hume, ch. xxxi. But she was delivered at Hampton-Court, and died on the 24th of October, according to a journal that was written by Cecil, which says, that she died twelve days after Edward's birth: and to it is in the Herald's Office.

‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. From the Cott. Lib. Cleopa-

tra, E. 5 fol. 173.

§ He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care to inform the people by a proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore should be more gratefully, for the increase of virtue, not of title and power, derided that no man should read the bible aloud, nor disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to dispute doubtful places without advice from the hierarchy."



taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction\*.

It appears that the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand, three hundred, and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand, one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions, and revenues of England, had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at a very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired. Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be

able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear during war, as well as peace, the whole charges of government. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms†.

Exclusive of the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house‡.

The intelligence of these acts of violence was received with indignation at Rome; and it may be easily imagined, how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. He was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of the libels the style

\* Among these reliques we shall enumerate a few: Our Lady's Girdle was shewn in eleven places, and her milk in eight. The felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, a remedy for the head-ach; the pen-knife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a piece of his shirt, much revered by women with child; the coals that roasted St. Laurence; two or three heads of St. Ursula, Malchus's ear, and the pairing of St. Edmund's nails; the image of an angel with one wing, which brought hither the spear's head that pierced Christ's side; an image of Our Lady with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of wood. The crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the rood of grace, was a famous imposture, to which many pilgrimages were made, being contrived so as to be able by the help of springs to roll the eyes, and move the lips, to bow, to shake the head, hands, and feet. It was shewed publicly at Paul's Cross by John, bishop of Rochester; and after a sermon upon it, there broken in pieces. Another great imposture was at Hales, in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem, was shewed in a chrystal vial, and was said to have this property, that if a man was in a mortal sin, and not absolved, he could not see it. Therefore every man that came to behold this miracle was forced to continue to make presents, till he bribed Heaven to give him the sight of so blessed a relic. This was now discovered to be the blood of a duck renewed every week, and the one side of the vial was so thick that there was no seeing through it, but the other was transparent. It was so placed near the altar, that one in a secret place behind could turn which side he pleased outwards. There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood, called Darvel Gatheren, which served for fuel to burn one Friar Forrest, who advised people in confession not to believe the king's supremacy. Besides which, the images of Our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Penrife, of Ilington, and St. John of Ofulston, called otherwise Mr. John Thorne; who was said to shut up the devil in a boot, and many others, were publicly burnt. Herbert, p. 213. But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on this account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgencies were

then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year, three pounds, two shillings, and six-pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds, five shillings, and six-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds, twelve shillings, and three-pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds, one shilling, and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got for his share, nine hundred, and fifty-four pounds, six shillings, and three pence. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how noxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air. Rapin. Burnet. Hume.

† He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues, or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expence and dissipation, the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands, fell much short of vulgar opinions.

‡ We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furness in the county of Lincoln, was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.



and animosity of his kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius, and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget, in some respect, the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of *The Unity of the Church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family, and to the catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved. The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in support of their cause had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into France about the year 1536. Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in choosing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part, kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations, which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted and tried, and

convicted before lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward: they were all executed except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy\*.

Henry was well adapted to rend asunder those bands by which the ancient superstitions had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in his course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death Gardiner, who had returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox, bishop of Hereford, had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partizans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preserve as much as possible, the ancient faith and mode of worship.

Though Henry had withdrawn from the ancient religion in most points, he yet maintained a few, which he deemed essential; and he chiefly rested his orthodoxy on the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him, than while he broke off all connections with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this article the purity of the catholic faith. One Lambert, a school-master in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counsels at court, he had been released, not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who was a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice, Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment;

\* We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court, forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no

historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume, that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his associates. Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

because



because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had ventured farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprized when, instead of complying, he made his appeal to the king. The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: the prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left: the judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of great distinction behind the peers: and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist. The bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying "That Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment." After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king sternly asked Lambert, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen: the audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics; Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal: six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley: and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? And he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting

question, "Whether he were resolved to live or die?" Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, "That he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency:" the king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him\*. Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. The executioner took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, "None but Christ, None but Christ;" and these words were in his mouth when he expired†. Some few days before his execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at St. Paul's Cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the west and country were burned in Smithfield‡.

The king summoned a parliament on the 28th of April, 1539, which was opened by the chancellor, who informed the house of lords, "That it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to choose a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament." The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what an arduous task they had undertaken: this small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, "That, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them." As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short prorogation, the bill of the six articles, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent. In this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession§. The king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had

\* Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. II. p. 152, has preserved an account which Cromwell gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the king's ambassador in Germany. "The king's majesty," says Cromwell, "for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process, and judgement of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burned the 20th of November, [1538.] It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty, his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the church of England. How benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man: how strong and manifest reasons his highness alledged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom and judgement, and reputed him no otherwise after the same, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom." It was

by such flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his sentiments the standard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his reasons for transubstantiation.

† Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet.

‡ Stowe, p. 556.

§ The denial of the first article with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases in treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: this kind of severity was unknown even to the inquisition itself. The denial of any other of the five articles, though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: an obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving



had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convents, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy: but as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Oslander, a famous divine of Nuremberg; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, shewed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

The parliament having resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to surrender of their civil; and by one act they made a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority\*. But to give this statute an appearance of moderation, they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet any common law or laudable custom of the realm. Henry bore a violent hatred to cardinal Pole, on account of the circumstances before mentioned; this hatred had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had therefore become extremely odious in the eyes of the king. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is said have been seen at Coudray, her country seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: but Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be sub-

jected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, however, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose he sent Cromwell, to ask the judges "Whether the parliament could attain a person who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing to appear before them †?" The judges replied, "That it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice." "no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner," and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, "That if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought into question, but must remain good in law." Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwell shewed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house ‡. No other proof seems to have been produced in order to ascertain her guilt: the parliament, without farther enquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter; Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: the marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess was reprieved §.

Every art that could be thought of was used to persuade the abbots to surrender their monasteries: but three abbots had shewn more constancy than the rest, viz. the abbots of Colchester, Reading, Glastonbury; and in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited ||. The king, however, well knew, that a surrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament\*\*. It is remarkable, that all the mitred

receiving the Eucharist, at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for enquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

\* The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but only to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, who may full ill bear it; that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: for these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoying obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: and these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

† Coke's 4th Inst. p. 37, 38.

‡ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 652.

§ As the letter from the countess of Salisbury to her son at Rome, the original of which is preserved in the Exchequer Record Office, serves to shew her good affection to the king, we shall here transcribe it:

"Son Reginald,

"I send you God's blessing more of my charity than of your deserving. Where my hope and trust was in God to have

comfort of you, the same by your demeanor is turned into sorrow. Alas! that you should ever be the cause that I, bearing towards you so motherly and tender a heart, as I have done, should for your folly receive from my sovereign lord such message as I have lately done by your brother, to whom, being a woman, his highness has shewed such mercy and pity, which never lay in my power, by no service that I could do, to deserve. But trusting that my children should, by their service, do some part of my bounden duty for me; and now to see you in his grace's high indignation, unless God shew his power unto me, I am not able to bear it. Trust me, Reginald, there went never the death of thy father, or of any child so nigh my heart, as this hath done: wherefore, upon my blessing I charge thee to call thy spirits to thee, and to take another way, and serve your master, as thy bounden duty is to do, unless thou wilt be the confusion of thy mother. You wrote of a promise made of you to God. Son, that was to serve God and thy prince, whom if thou do not serve with all thy wit, with all thy power, I know thou cannot please God, and your bounden duty is so to do above all other: for who has brought you up and maintained you to learning, but his highness, whom if you will not with your learning serve, to the contentation of his mind, as your bounden duty is, trust never in me; and that you may so serve his highness, I shall daily pray to give you grace, and to make you his servant, etc. take you to his mercy."

|| 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

\*\* In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to due course of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirmed the surrenders, and secured the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.



abbots still sat in the house of peers; and that none of them made any protests against this injurious statute.

In this session the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwell, as vice-gerent, had the precedency assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son, for he was no other, should have place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

No sooner was the act of the six articles passed, than the catholics were very vigilant in informing against offenders; and in a short time near five hundred persons were thrown into prison. But Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to let them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the bible in his family. A concession regarded by that party as very important.

As Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all those whom he had espoused, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the duchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was led to think of a French princess. He demanded the duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refusal; he had set his heart extremely on the match: the information which he had received of the duchess's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having privately sent over Meautys to examine her person, and got certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him, served farther to inflame his desires. He learned that she was a large woman; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him, who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his prosecution of this match; and he insisted that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though sensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther solicitation, he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendôme; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him that they were no wife inferior either in merit or size to their eldest sister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives, as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the

two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: he was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to market; there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser. Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected\*.

The king now turned his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connection which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwell seconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sybilla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein, determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negotiation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, went privately to Rochester, where he had a sight of her. He found her large indeed, and tall as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the picture and representations which he had received: he swore she was a great Flanders mare; and declared, that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse, when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, as well as to lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny†. It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical; after the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even confided in him, which is uncommon among great princes. An insurrection had been raised in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who resided at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in choosing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: he asked Francis's permission to pass through his dominions; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival whom he had greatly offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistresses and favourites, to make advantage of his present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not even speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

Henry now believed that an entire union had taken

\* Hume.

† Sir Anthony, in order to give him comfort, told him, that this misfortune was common with all kings, who could

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not, like private persons, choose for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgement and fancy of others.



place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to unite their arms against England. An alliance with the German princes therefore seemed more than ever requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family: and he resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage on the 6th of January, 1540; telling Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him, that he had hated her worse than ever, and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: he was resolved never to meddle with her; and even suspected her not to be a virtuous woman: a point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out whenever an occasion should offer.

A parliament was summoned to meet on the 12th of April, this year, and none of the abbots were allowed a place in the house of peers. The king, by the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity of religions which still prevailed among his subjects: a grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured, because the Scriptures were now published in English, and ought universally to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets to which his people were to assent; and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory\*. Cromwell, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper house, and the peers, in return, bestowed great flattery on him, and in particular said he was worthy, by his desert to be vicar-general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces: he received, soon after the sitting of the parliament, the title of the earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the Garter.

There now remained but one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly military, had by their valour done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England, they had exerted their spirit, and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to his usual expedient, the parliament, for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition no wise contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But his profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprized this session to find a demand made upon them of four-tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: so ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound to be levied in two years.

Henry's favour to Cromwell, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were deceitful

appearances: his aversion to the queen daily increased; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many other considerable offices in the gift of the crown. Besides enjoying that commission, which gave him a high and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy-seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: he had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had been ever conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which seemed to be profaned by its being communicated to so mean a person. The people were averse to him as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries: establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: the protestants observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making so easy a sacrifice, to regain the affection of his subjects. But there was another cause which set these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catharine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwell, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: and when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell at the council-table, on an accusation of high-treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man, whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be *vicar-general of the universe*. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous. The only circumstance of his conduct, by which he seems to have merited this fate, was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills in the preceding session against the countess of Salisbury and others. Cromwell endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but he supplicated in vain: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwell's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woful prisoner, am ready to submit to death, when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." When brought to the place of execution on the 28th of July, he avoided all earnest protestations of

\* The king seems to have expected more effect in ascertaining truth, from this new book of his doctrines, than had

ensued from the publication of the Scriptures.



his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance\*.

The king now thought of being divorced from Anne of Cleves; and the house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, petitioned the king to allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. The king pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and added two reasons, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not inwardly given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy†: and the princess was soon after made acquainted with the sentence.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions and gave her consent to the divorce‡. She even wrote to her brother, (for her father was now dead,) that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received, and she lived and died in England. Anne's moderation, however, was not able to prevent this incident from producing a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the political situation of Europe was much altered, Henry was indifferent about this resentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had subsisted during a very short time: the dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former animosity.

Charles misrepresented the confidence Francis had reposed in him, and invited Henry to a renewal of ancient animity. Henry willingly accepted of the offer;

and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

This alliance was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonist. The marriage of the king with Catharine Howard, which was celebrated on the 8th of August, was also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with vigour§. Henry not only exerted this violence against the protestants, but spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast||.

Notwithstanding the spirit of the English, which seemed to be sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent; an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution, on the 27th of May, 1541; and this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended\*\*.

This insurrection engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: he proposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

A similar spirit of religious innovation with that which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun before this period, to excite similar jealousies, fears, and persecutions. Several persons, among whom some were of noble birth, were tried, condemned to the stake, and executed, for heresy,

\* He was, says Hume, a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to anyone. He had served as a private sentinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucques merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwell in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence. Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

† To show how much Henry sported with law and common sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sense of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring that a pre-contract should be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of restoring the princess Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

‡ Herbert, p. 458, 459. Hume.

§ Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, before-mentioned, felt in his turn, the severity of the

persecuting spirit; and, by a bill which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next intreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request; which he imagined would have authority with that monarch who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing.

|| Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Howel, who declared that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them.

\*\* She refused to lay her head on the block, or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: and thus shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with an axe, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck, before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet.



or a closely adhering to the real dictates of the Bible. The most dangerous symptoms for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose. The ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be too much governed: they offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: they promised him, that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: and they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues\*. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address, had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview†.

This disappointment greatly chagrined Henry, and he vowed vengeance against his nephew. He began by permitting piracies at sea and incursions at land. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catharine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: one Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, with whom Catharine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed

it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to lord Russell, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: the privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to the testimony of his sister. That nobleman next made a pretence of hunting, and went to Suffex, where the woman at that time resided: he found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the appearance of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was so deeply affected, that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found, to his surprize, that his great skill in distinguishing virtue, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, enraged to the highest degree, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry now had recourse to his usual instrument of tyranny, a parliament, which he summoned to meet on the 6th of January, 1542. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute. Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catharine's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it‡.

\* Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Jac. V. Pitscotie, ibid. Knox.

† Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the title, that they had a tendency to defend his new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: adding, it was better he should destroy them, than they him. See Epist. Reginald. Pole, pars. 1. p. 172.

‡ This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.



Henry, willing to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, engaged the parliament to pass some laws of a very extraordinary nature\*. After these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-Hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dis-solute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of the unfortunate queen Anne.

Henry did not demand any subsidy from this parliament; but found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: he took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: it had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president, or any number of fellows could consent to such a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favorites†. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make deviations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the see of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

It is well known that the clergy have commonly made a concern for their temporal interests to go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions have been regarded by the people as proofs of zeal for religion: but the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, consisting of the two arch-bishops and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, he had given them in charge to choose a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament, in 1541, had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent: and they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring, that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute which may seem at first sight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: it was enacted, that the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became

more master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary purposes. The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgement of that spiritual supremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon published, called the "Institution of a Christian Man," which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics. The king's caprice is discernible throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly established. The people had occasion, soon after, to see a farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satisfied with his "Institution of a Christian Man;" and therefore ordered a new book to be composed, called the "Erudition of a Christian Man;" and, without asking the assent of the convocation, he published, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Institution; but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was spreading his own books among the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made by the synod, of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should be still preserved, because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue. Among these were, *ecclesia*, *penitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*, *holocausta*, *sacramentum*, *elementa*, *ceremonia*, *mysterium*, *presbyter*, *sacrificium*, *humilitas*, *satisfactio*, *peccatum*, *gratia*, *hostia*, *charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament, which met January 23, 1543, soon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and

\* It was enacted, that any one who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the same time from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others: it was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him.

† It was enacted by this parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by

commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The same parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of king of Ireland to his other titles. This session the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent increased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important consequences. Hollingshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.



merchants from perusing them\*. Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences†. The mass-book also passed under the king's revisal, and little alteration was as yet made in it: some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erased. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold; but this persecution of it rather imprinted it more strongly in the memory of the people.

About this time the king cleared the churches from another abuse which had crept into them. Plays, interludes, and farces, were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude, says Burnet, for ancient principles and modes of worship was thereby gradually effaced. Thus Henry laboured incessantly by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious sentiments: but as he entered himself with the greatest earnestness into all those scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets prescribed to them by any set of men.

Henry was determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for slighting the advances which he had made him, and would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promised interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel: but more speciously to colour the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which Henry pretended belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont, of Darsay, to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, were upwards of four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when he met with the English army; and they came to an action on the 24th of

August. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being surrounded and overpowered, sought safety in flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note fell in the skirmish. In the mean time the duke of Norfolk began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, and Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as soon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the rivers as far as Kelfo, but hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England: but his nobles opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with his forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving them of Maxwell, their general, of his commission, and committing the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dawes and Musgrave. The Scots became dismayed, immediately took a flight, and were pursued by the enemy‡.

Intelligence of this affair was speedily conveyed to the king of Scots, who was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter; he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or marriage." A few days after, December 14, he expired in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the

\* 32 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time have much effect in England, where so few persons had learned to read. There were but five hundred copies printed of this first authorized edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

† These persons were allowed to read, "so it be done quietly and with good order." And the preamble to the act sets forth, "That many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, and that great

diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scriptures."

‡ This circumstance happened on the 24th of November, 1542. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action, but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: among these the earls of Caithness and Glencairn; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.



rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him.

On the death of James, Henry projected, in 1543, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them in severe terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which he hoped these disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: and they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

The Roman pontiff, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James\*, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. James, earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown of Scotland by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office, into which the cardinal by his forgery had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales†. The cardinal primate, however, prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, and by his intrigues, he confounded all the schemes which were laid by Henry, notwithstanding their appearing to be well concerted‡. He gained several partizans by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the catholic worship;

and represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours, was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: but Sadler prudently dissembled the matter, and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them shewed so much sentiments of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as hostages.

The behaviour of the generality of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment against Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great, though fruitless, efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother: and he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. On account of these preparations Arran the governor assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he accommodated the affair with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones. The arrival of

\* Upon the death of the king, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess: at least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation. By virtue of this will Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the preten-

sions of the earl of Arran.

† The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry: and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges.

‡ To this end he assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which if entrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies.



Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable.

The opposition Henry met with in Scotland from the intrigues of the French, excited his resentment against France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. Henry pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a prince of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England. He had been informed of some raileries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance\*. That they might have a pretence for enforcing their claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with sultan Solymán, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies†.

Henry during the negotiation with the emperor, summoned a new session of parliament, on the 22d of January, in order to obtain supplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years‡. The convocation gave the king six shillings in the pounds, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, "That he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs§." The parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes: they appointed, that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as all parliaments, seemed if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It was enacted|| this session, that any spiritual person who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the "Erudition of a Christian Man," or contrary to any doctrine which he should thereafter promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the second

he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real presence: it was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But in order to make the king more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause both parties were retained in subjection: so far as regarded religion, the king was invested in the fullest manner with the sole legislative authority in the kingdom: and all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he should think proper to put forth.

On the 12th of July the king married Catharine Parr, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. From this marriage also the reformers began to entertain hopes of the king's favour: and Henry's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholics; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the contending parties. The advantages gained by the powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles, were inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor. Francis in person took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole duchy of Luxembourg: he afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the duchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he had pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: but while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprize, and found it necessary to retire during the winter.

Henry's vanity was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent: but the interests of the kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of an indolent and unambitious character, so that had he not been stimulated by his friends, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-

\* This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: in case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles the duchy of Burgundy, and some other territories. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

† It may be proper to remark, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less noxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solymán; and they observed, that this league was a

breach of the solemn promise which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

‡ This subsidy was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual. They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four-pence in every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight-pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen-pence; for twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eight-pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen-pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

§ See Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

|| 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1.



dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he gladly accepted of dishonourable terms of accommodation. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: the queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: the governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone became an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty. The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalry had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as he was become assuming on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that since he must choose between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter a man, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendancy, retired to Dumbarton, the governor of which place was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a secret correspondence with the English court; and summoned his vassals and partizans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their services. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man, he foresaw that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: and Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

On the 14th of January, 1544, he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed concerning the succession of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. But notwithstanding this, Henry would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared those princesses illegitimate: he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown as he pleased by will or letters patent. An-

other act was passed, which declared that the king's usual style should be "King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith\*", and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland." An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will be easily believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer. The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken. The most commendable law to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprized in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorized for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: but as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expences, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: and he enhanced gold from forty-five to forty-eight shillings an ounce; and silver, from three shillings and ninepence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could any wise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was enrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition. These powers of the prerogative, the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the persons and properties of all his subjects.

In the early part of this year the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley, lord Lisle, commanded the sea forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down, and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. As the regent

\* It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cause against Luther; and No. XL.

yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court.



and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total subjection.

Henry now thought of carrying on an enterprize against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces, amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: they were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand effective men.

Henry, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, went to Calais with thirty thousand men in July, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan, earl of Arundel; Vere, earl of Oxford; the earl of Surrey, Paulet, lord St. John; lord Ferrars, of Chartley; lord Mountjoy, lord Grey, of Wilton; Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; which together made a very formidable army. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the emperor's forces. Charles, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: he next laid siege to St. Disier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation. The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, from what motive we know not, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: the king himself that before Boulogne. Verrin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed on the 14th of September, while the siege was carrying on, and the town was surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Verrin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation. During the course of this siege Charles had taken St. Disier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for de-

serting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagement and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Disier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crespy\*, on the 18th of the same month, where no mention was made of England. This peace was procured partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialists at Cerissoles in Piedmont, and partly by the emperor's desire to turn his arms against the protestant prince in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England about the 30th.

During the king's absence the war with Scotland was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place, than a sudden panic seized him; he left his army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English: but his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. In the beginning of 1545, this general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country, when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melrose. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Leslie, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount, and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring, and they made an attack upon them on the 17th of February. The Scots received them in good order, and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprize of the English, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after

\* Charles stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis in return withdrew his

troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy.



sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and then retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either side.

The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event: Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides galleys; and having embarked some land-forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It consisted not of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and except the sinking of the *Mary Rose*, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable. Francis's chief intention in equipping so great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; and for that purpose he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assembled on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprize. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them: and having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country.

By reason of the expence of these two wars maintained by Henry, he was obliged to summon a new parliament, which he did on the 23d of November. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings in the pound on land\*: the spirituality voted him six shillings in the pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; by one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels†, and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostitute parliament.

On the 24th of December, the king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in

which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: that it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every ale-house and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: and that he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that, though an imaginary knowledge so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay. Thus we find, that the king could give good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he recommended.

In 1546 Henry employed the money granted by parliament in military preparations; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against France was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase in corpulence and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw that hostilities must soon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, on the 7th of June, the articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them‡.

The king now freed from foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, which he so much desired. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to save us from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities. Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: but Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all

\* Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds, and below ten, were to pay eight-pence in the pound: those above ten pounds, a shilling.

† A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such other as they appointed: free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. *Jacob's Law Dictionary.*

‡ The chief conditions of the peace were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was a third of the value.



commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk \*: the queen-dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before.

Cranmer, when bereft of this support, was much exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal of enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct, promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends from interested views, as well as the opposite party, from animosity began to shew him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them, that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: but he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances.

Notwithstanding Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered all accusations against him of none effect, his pride and peevishness impelled him to punish with severity all who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty, who had great connections with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity, rather than relinquish her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him, that as to the Lord's supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: but while she could not be brought

to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor Wriothesley, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: but she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors † add an extraordinary circumstance: that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: the chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a priest, John Lascelles of the king's household, and John Adams, a taylor, who had been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake, and in that dreadful situation the chancellor sent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them. Though the queen escaped from this peril by the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she was saved with difficulty. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and diligent care, and endeavoured, by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catharine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastized, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, even proceeded to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesley exacted his commands; and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed: for as it was high treason to throw scandal upon the queen, he might otherwise have been qual-

† This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person.

"Is there any of you, my lords, who can see as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round at their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them.

† Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 225. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance; he, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. The king disapproved of Wriothesley's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.



*Engraving for Ashmole's History of England.*



*Henry VIII representing Bishop Gardiner who was come to see, following Parr while conversing with him in the Garden.*



tioned for his temerity. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Women, she said, by the first creation, were made subject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the husband to choose principles for his wife, the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband who was qualified, by his judgement and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wife and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied, "That she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; and though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose, than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction." "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king, "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catharine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: he even overheard the appellations of knave, fool, and beast, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence: he afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: he said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain the favour and good opinion of the king\*.

Henry's tyrannical disposition burst out soon after to the destruction of the duke of Norfolk and his father, who during this whole reign, and even a part of the

foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered considerable service to the crown†; and fortune seemed to conspire with his own industry, in raising him to the greatest elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the king he had acquired an immense estate: his majesty had successively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: besides his descent from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward III.: and as he was believed still to adhere secretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all these circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity and to the new ecclesiastical system, from the attempts of so powerful a subject. Nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's displeasure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman‡. Henry actuated by these prejudices, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust with which the ill conduct of Catharine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were, on the 12th of December, committed to the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown during this reign. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians, who were suspected to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was suspected of holding a correspondence with that noxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which made him be suspected of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey on the 19th of January, 1547, for high-treason; and their sentence was executed upon him a few days after.

The duke of Norfolk's innocence was still more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His duchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had basely carried intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court: yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime than his once saying, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: but nothing could mollify the unrelenting

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 314. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. 11. p. 58.

† The duke himself had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprizes; he had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden: he had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the north: and he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France.

‡ Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises which were then in request: he encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: he had made some successful attempts in poetry; and being smitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praises of his mistress, by his pen and his lance, in every

masque and tournament. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry; but though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct, had sent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition. Hume.



temper of the king. He assembled a parliament on the 14th of January, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of the earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the 29th of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by so unjust and tyrannical a sentence.

Henry had long been in a declining state; but for several days those about his person imagined they saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and as some persons during this reign had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death, every one was afraid, lest in the transports of his fury, he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: but before the arrival of that prelate the king was speechless; though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months: and in the fifty-sixth year of his age\*.

The character of Henry, as delineated by Hume, we shall here lay before our readers: "It is difficult, says that excellent historian, to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility, and though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an exten-

sive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy, was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtues: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: the treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: the emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: the extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history. It may seem a little extraordinary, that notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects; but never was the object of their hatred: he seems even in some degree, to have possessed to the last their love and affection†. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: and it may be said with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that like eastern slaves they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expence. With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters, (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light,) served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: he foretold that he should not long survive his friend: and he died in about two months after him."

I. By queen Catharine of Arragon he had, 1. two sons, who lived but a short time. 2. Mary, born Feb. 8, 1515. She was afterwards queen of England. II. By Anne Boleyn he had, 1. Elizabeth, born Sept. 7, 1533, who succeeded her sister queen Mary. 2. A son still-born, Feb. 29, 1535. III. He had by Jane Seymour prince Edward, born Oct. 12, 1537. He succeeded his father by the title of king Edward VI. King Henry had no issue by his three last queens, Anne

\* The king had made his will about a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to lady Mary, next to lady Elizabeth: the two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of the minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that after the failure of the French queen's posterity, the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house;

and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries, which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of their souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his latter years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safe side of the question.—Henry VIII. was buried at Windsor.

† Strype, vol. 1, p. 389.



of Cleves, Catharine Howard, and Catharine Par. But by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blunt, knight, and widow of Sir Gilbert Talbot, he had a natural son, named Henry Fitzroy, whom he made earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond, high-admiral, lieutenant of Ireland, &c. and who died July 24, 1536, aged seventeen years.

## C H A P. III.

## E D W A R D VI.

**H**ENRY VIII. by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers, who had been devoted to his interests during his life time, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months more than nine, he appointed sixteen executors\*; to whom during the minority of the king, he entrusted the government of the realm. The first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. As soon as they met it was suggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head, who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: and as the king's will seemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it, by choosing a protector; who, though he should possess all the exterior symbols of royalty, should yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors. This proposal was disagreeable to chancellor Wriothesley, who opposed the proposal of choosing a protector, and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority which had established it; but he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. It was therefore agreed to name a protector, and the choice fell on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the administration, and dispatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their offices during pleasure: and it is there expressly affirmed,

that all authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the king.

The executors next shewed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because several of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promises†. Several to whom high dignities were offered, refused them; because the other part of the king's promises, the bestowing of estates on them, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges, this irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Fregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them: he maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure.

The removal of this nobleman increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet Somerset was not contented with this advantage, his ambition prompted him to seek still farther acquisitions. Pretending that the vote of the exe-

\* Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russell, privy-seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Toustal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid upon them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich.

Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edmund Peckham.

† That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements on the 17th of February, 1547. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marshal, and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Wyloughby, and Sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron. Stowe's Annals, p. 594.



cutors which chose him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent on the 12th of March, from young Edward, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry, and procured a total revolution in the government. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: he reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: and he consulted with such only as suited his inclination. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever. The executors acquiesced in the new establishment, and by that means made it to be universally submitted to. The young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in appearance a man of moderation and probity; no objections were made to his power and title. And those who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitances of faction, and ensure the public tranquility; but though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power.

The imperious character and extensive authority of Henry had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection; but upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. Somerset had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the religion of the church of Rome, and of adopting still more of protestantism\*. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forming the progress of the reformation. The riches, which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable. Their rapacity also, the chief source of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiastic, they could never hope to succeed in their intended purpose.

Somerset, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the councils of Cranmer, who probably foresaw, that a system which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be the most lasting; and that a devotion merely spiritual was fitter only for the first fervours of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He seems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a settled government, might stand as a perpe-

tual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished. But bishop Gardiner opposed, with the greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of some disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which indeed, were generally and sincerely revered by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude. He even wrote an apology for holy water, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind. Above all, he insisted that the laws ought to be observed inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act passed by the great council of the nation. But though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with an immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely in the present case be maintained with any plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in the dioceses of England. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them†. Nothing required correction more than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions, which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders were therefore given to restrain the topics of their sermons; and twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people. Every clergyman was prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while, by the grant of particular licenses, an unbounded liberty should be allowed to the protestant. Bonner made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retreated and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "It is a dangerous thing," said he, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run further than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure." "For my part," said he, on another occasion, "my whole concern is; to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to

\* He took care that all persons entrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles; and, as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themselves in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent.

† The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish

the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of his delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles, in order to drive away the evil spirit, make



make a handsome exit off the stage: Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence; nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities: they will stick by a man when every thing else takes its leave; and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best of it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me. But if I give them up, then I am ruined myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments\*." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where some degree of severity was used.

One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. Fox, the famous martyrologist, calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "an insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification." The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretell its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his suf-

ferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it coincided with those principles of self-abasement which generally have place in religion. Tonstal, bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was exercised against him at that time. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character.

The partizans of the ancient and of the new religion, became daily more violent against each other, particularly in Scotland; where the resolution which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision †.

During five short reigns, which successively followed in Scotland, and as many long minorities, the execution of justice which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been always interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animosities of the great. But besides these evils the disputes and contentions of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the most settled government; and the death of cardinal Beaton, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the queen-dowager, a woman of uncommon talents and virtue, did as much to support the government as could be expected in her situation. The Scotch reformers requested the protection of the English court; and the protectors of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; being determined, if possible, to unite the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of eighteen thousand men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of

\* Collier, vol. II. p. 228, ex MS. Col. C. C. Cant. Bibliotheca Britannica, article GARDINER.

† There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning. The age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Mean while a plague broke out in Dundee, and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: but lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: the infected stood within; and the others without. And the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission. The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike terror into other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell to that unhappy man. Being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from

his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with his usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should in the very same place lie as low as now he was exalted in opposition to true piety and religion. This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricaded the door of his chamber: but finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as he believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villainy, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgement of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword toward Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands: it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death: but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body: and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This murder was executed on the 28th of May, 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection.



which were ships of war, the other laden with provisions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: he himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwick\*. The protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he declared, "That nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and security: that the education and customs of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the same language, laws, and manners, had invited them to a perfect union: that fortune had at last removed all obstacles, and had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealousy to which rival nations are naturally exposed: that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and, happily, the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age the most suitable to each other: that the hostile dispositions which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extinguished, after a secure peace had established confidence between them: that the memory of former miseries and animosities which would then serve only to make them cherish a state of happiness and tranquillity, so long unknown to their ancestors: that when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: that as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a more powerful people: that though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired a union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: and that besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded†."

Somerfet's penetration soon perceived that these remonstrances would not avail; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion, would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the greatest aversion. He passed the borders of Berwick on the 2d of September, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance, except from small castles which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force: but they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours' respite, that they might prepare themselves for death; after which they found him more open to their applications for mercy.

In the mean time the governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within sight of them at Falside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted, and lord Hume dangerously wounded,

Somerfet prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. This moderate demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine, that the protector must either be reduced to great distress, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and much exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay opposite to him. They now determined to cut off their retreat, and with that view quitted the camp; and, passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain. They divided their army into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service. Somerfet was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the left, farther from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach; he placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered them to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English. While the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: the eldest son of lord Graham was killed: the Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger; when lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay across their front, and disordered the movements with the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him: the standard was near being taken: the protector, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry. Warwick shewed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: he made Sir Peter Mentas advance, captain of the foot-harquebusiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish harquebusiers on horseback; and

\* These hostile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging some depredations committed by the borderers; but besides that Somerfet revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to

enter into a negotiation on any other condition, than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

† See Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279.



ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces in the faces of the enemy: the ships galled them from the flank: the artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: the English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: and the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely, and in good order, towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, made great havoc among the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the ground was strewed with dead bodies. The priests above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprize so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action which happened in September, was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbouring country.

The queen-dowager, together with Arran, fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time, the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over the neighbouring counties. Somerset having taken the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxborough, and some other places; and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he being eager to return to England, quitted Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying the shipping along the coast, took Broughty in the frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate: but no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time, till succours should arrive in England. The protector, on his arri-

val in England, summoned a parliament in November: and being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency enacted during the former reign. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves great praise to account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution\*. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: some few appeared zealous for the reformation: others secretly harboured a propensity to the catholic faith: but the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion. The convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament. The lower house of convocation applied for liberty to sit with the commons in parliament; or that no law regarding religion might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But this was rejected.

In the beginning of 1548, orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-Day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday. The council also issued an order for the removal of all images from the churches: an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion†. Private masses having been abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service; and the council, in the preface prefixed to this work, left the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent‡. The people were at that time distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit. This, however, could not but be a temporary restraint: for in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shews and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were in-

\* All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning: only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined: a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges. A repeal also passed of that law, (the destruction of all laws,) by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute. That other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four and twentieth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution; but could not recall any past effects which had ensued from them. It was also enacted, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence

should incur the penalty of a præmunire; and for the third be attainted of treason. But if any, after the 1st of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session.

† An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

‡ This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendancy over them. And it may justly be said, that though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same disorders.



clined to contract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: and the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those times.

As the reformation advanced in England, the union with Scotland receded; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation which had so far departed from the ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by lord Grey: he also erected some fortifications at Lauder: and he hoped that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him access into the heart of the country. Arran, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital\*: but on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and having joined Dessé with a considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to Haddington. This was an undertaking for which they were by themselves totally unfit; and, even with the assistance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of success in starving the garrison. After some vain attempts to take the place by a regular siege, the blockade was formed, and the garrison was repulsed with loss in several sallies which they made upon the besiegers.

The hostile attempts which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland not being steady, nor regular, had served only to irritate that nation, and to inspire them with the strongest aversion to the union so earnestly desired. And those who were inclined to the English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed on them by force of arms: the earl of Huntley, in particular, said pleasantly, "that he disliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing †." The queen dowager, finding these sentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young queen, for her greater security, should be sent to France, and be committed to the custody of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this measure was desperate, allowed no resource in case of miscarriage, exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would resist when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that the king of France, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sove-

reign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of the duke of Chatelault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms. And as the clergy dreaded the consequence of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principal or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French galleys lying in the Frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea he returned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: an extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Areskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin ‡.

The protector meeting with difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his Scottish enterprise, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal was laid aside. The Scots recovered the fortresses of Hume, and Fastcastle, by surprise, and put the garrisons to the sword; they repulsed with loss the English, who, under the command of Lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose: in the former action James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made, by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a considerable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops falling into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces. And though a small body of two hundred men escaped the vigilance of the French, and arrived safely in Haddington, with some ammunition and provisions, the garrison was reduced to such difficulties, that Somerset found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand Germans, whom the dissolution of the protestant alliance had offered their service to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewsbury. Dessé raised the blockade on the approach of the English, and with great difficulty retreated to Edinburgh, where he posted himself advantageously. Shrewsbury, who had lost the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his present situation; and contenting himself with the advantage already gained, of supplying Haddington, he retired into England. Though the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots in supporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions which had crept into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions §. The first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared with the protector commanding the army in Scotland.

\* Beague, Hist. of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549, p. 6.

† Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 89. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15. Hume, c. xxxiv.

§ Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition; arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and de-

cency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king: inasmuch that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the duchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedence, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen the breach between the two brothers. Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 70. Camden. Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69. Secretary



Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, observed that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by presents, the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgences and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. His remonstrances being disregarded, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and persuaded him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the parliament which met soon after, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partizans, he made an attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom hath been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not safely be lodged in any subject. The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some friends were sent to remonstrate with him; but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and threatened, "That if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackest that ever sat in England." The council sent for him to answer for his conduct; but he refused to attend: they then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him that the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprize, and be construed as a design to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall some menaces of sending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother. Here the mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprizes of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom even the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair\*. But as Henry VIII. had excluded

his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded, that he meant to effect his purpose by still more rash and criminal expedients. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of those who had more immediate access to the king's person: he endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests: he found means of holding a private correspondence with him: he openly decried his brother's administration; and asserted, that by enlisting Germans and other foreigners; he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: by promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occasion, muster an army of ten thousand men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers†: he had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharrington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well informed of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly methods, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him desist from these dangerous counsels; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwick‡ was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruin of both.

Somerset having found that the public peace was engaged by his brother's seditious schemes, was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority against him; and, depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and shewed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council§.

A parliament, the usual instrument of vengeance in those days, being summoned on the 4th of November, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by a bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and several peers,

\* Haynes, p. 95, 96, 102, 108.

† Ibid, p. 105, 106.

‡ Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the son of that Dudley brother to Henry VII. who having by rapine, extortion, and violation of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least the equity of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, industry, and activity, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of viscount, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority, and having obtained the title of earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory gained at Pinky was much ascribed to his courage and

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conduct; and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: and as he found that lord Seymour, whose abilities and enterprising spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness. Hume.

§ It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: he boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him; in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.



rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partizans among the nobility, no one had the courage to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: there were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent by the king on the 20th of March, 1549, enjoining the house to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce. The bill passed in a full house. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-Hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame on account of the violence of these proceedings.

The principal business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, related to the affairs of the church; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: they retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: they indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: and they flattered themselves that they had established a service in which every denomination of Christians might without scruple concur. The parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies. Another material act passed during this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, yet was this institution much forwarded by the principles of superstition inherent in human nature. Notwithstanding the law permitting the marriage of priests, it is confessed in the preamble, "That it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage, and it were much to be wished they would of themselves abstain." The inconveniences which had arisen from the compelling of chastity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons assigned for indulging a liberty in this particular. The ideas of penance also were so much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament passed, forbidding the use of flesh-meat during Lent and other times of abstinence.

The principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as

enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service, and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might impart the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the absurdity of the principle itself, and the veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: and the catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occasion inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance the opinion, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

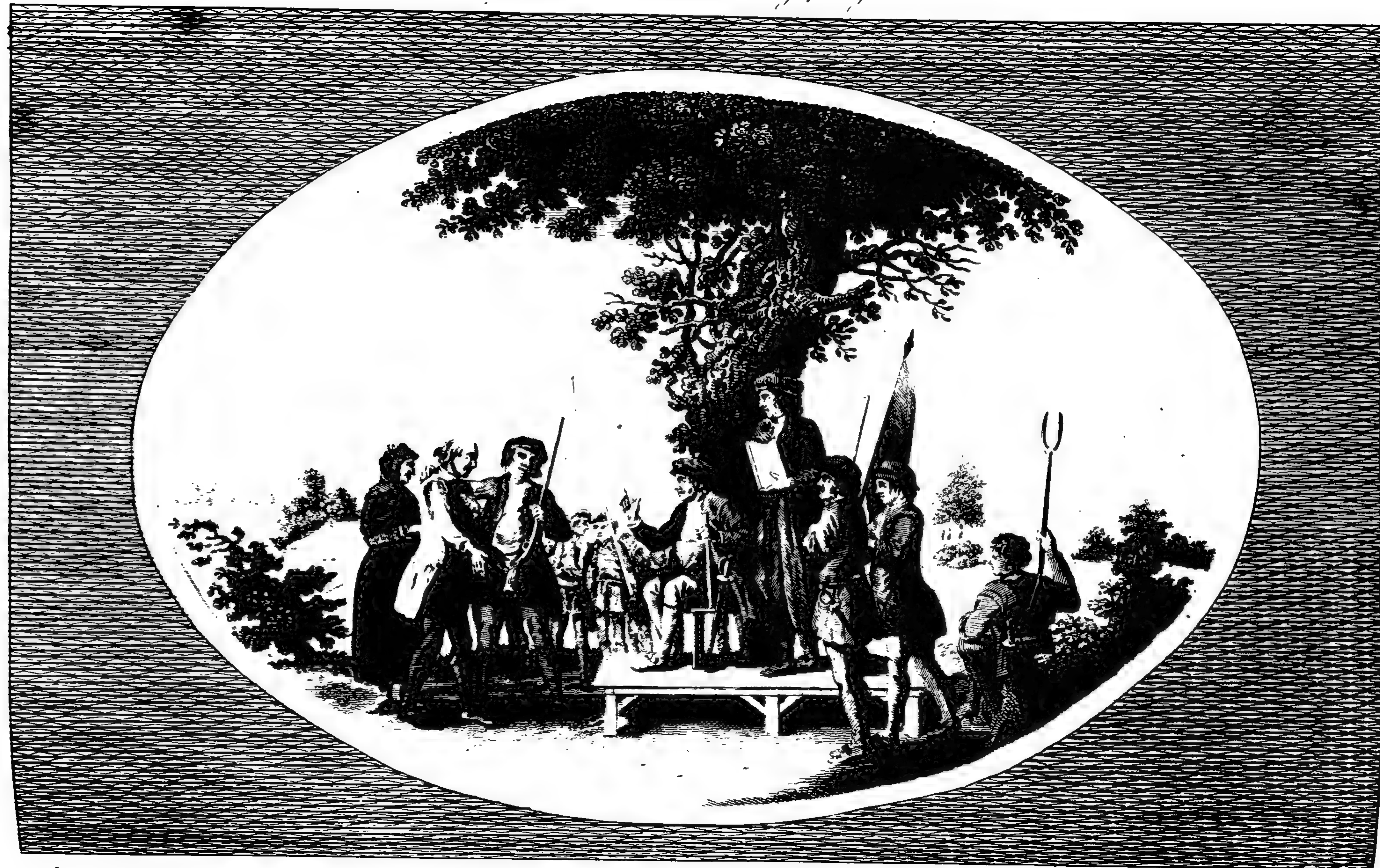
Such severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed in that age a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline: but there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer\*. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them, and to give them absolution: or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them; and to deliver them over to the secular arm: and in the execution of this charge, they were not required to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council†. By this severe method of proceeding the whole nation was soon

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

† Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin; and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to

compliance; and he said, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles' creed: these latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress, in like manner, as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by opportunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age. See Burnet; Strype's Memoirs of Cranmer; and Hume.





*View of the burning of the Anabaptists and of the Catholic Reformation at Household Hill near Norwich.*



brought to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor, who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured a temporary connivance from the council.

By the suppression of the monasteries a vast number of estates had got into other channels; the money arising from them was now chiefly spent in the capital, instead of being consumed on the estates. The rents were raised, and the farmers had not the same mode of disposing of the articles which their industry had produced. The abbots and priors, generally gave leases at an under value, and received in return a large present from the tenant. But the noblemen, living at a distance from their estates, committed the management of them to stewards, who for the most part raised the rents of the monastic lands to an enormous height, and oppressed the farmers in the most unheard-of manner. These grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession which of all mechanical employments requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home: pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: the tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery: and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom. This grievance was now of an old date; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his *Utopia*, "That a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces." The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained, that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a scanty maintenance; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to society, yet was it difficult for the people to shake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but necessity could compel them to such an exertion of their faculties\*. Somerset the protector, who pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by endeavouring to redress them. He appointed a commission for making enquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, he appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages. This commission was disagreeable to the on-

bility and gentry, and they stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redress, sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert: those in the neighbouring counties; Oxford and Gloucester; by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences. The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency, made the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russell had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body†. The council, to whom Russell transmitted an account of their demands, sent a haughty answer, commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russell meanwhile lay at Honiton till reinforced by Sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Baptista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law: the vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle.

The people of Norfolk rose with more violence, and their insurrection was attended with greater acts of outrage. They complained against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, and placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Moushold-Hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called The Oak of Reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as

\* It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Hen. VIII. had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still farther the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued: the good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abun-

dance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; a universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

† Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy-water and holy-bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed.



might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action, where lord Sheffield was killed. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: he therefore sent the earl of Warwick at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit. Ket was hanged at Norwich Castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. The Yorkshire rebels learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. The protector soon after published a general act of indemnity.

In the mean time the French general had leisure to reduce Scotland to some tolerable degree of settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: the place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: and as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were much reduced in number and strength. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwick; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, put the orders in execution. The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonois, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions. He endeavoured to surprize Boulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris. He left the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chaillon, so well known afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, several attempts against the place; but he proved unsuccessful in every endeavour. Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the

historians of the two nations differ in their account of the event.

The French war was hardly broke out, when the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; to which end he sent secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court in order to assist Sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connections with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. Somerset, despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward; and as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector.

Somerset was very ambitious, but not endowed with a capacity proportioned to his ambition. Warwick, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector. The discontented counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were, for the most part, displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination, they apprehended a renewal of the insurrections from his present affection of popularity\*. But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his avowed enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct†.

Somerset's imprudences were remarked by his enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-House; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England,

\* He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

† The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: the great estate which he suddenly acquired at the expence of the church and of the crown rendered him noxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him

to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishop's houses, were pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure; not content with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-Yard, with a cloister and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise the palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away were buried in unconsecrated ground.



informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: they sent for the mayor and alderman of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary ones which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and chief justice Montague, joined the malecontent counsellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them: the common-council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of doing all in their power to support them.

Somerset upon his becoming acquainted with the defection of the counsellors, removed the king from Hampton-Court, to Windsor-Castle; and, arming his friends and servants, seemed determined to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. As soon as this despondency was known, lord Russell, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors more, who had hitherto remained neutrals, joined the party of Warwick, whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, humbly protesting duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father for the government of his kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority and had neglected, and even opposed their counsel; that he proceeded to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: they therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs.

The catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore the chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be so easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enter-

prise. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that that high-spirited nobleman retired from the council, and soon after died from vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Russell was created earl of Bedford: the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain of the household, and got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the see of London. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, but one which was composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal: but such niceties were little understood and still less regarded, in England during that age.

On the 4th of November, a parliament began to sit; and as it was the usual maxim of that assembly to acquiesce in every administration which was established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority\*. During this session a severe law was passed against riots. It was enacted, that if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: any attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops complained that they were deprived of their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; and they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the discipline of the church. From this diminution of ecclesiastical authority the clergy pretended, that vice and immorality had greatly increased. On account of this complaint the parliament empowered the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharrington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, "That though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent, that he had become a very honest man."

In the year 1550, soon after Warwick and the council began to exercise the regency power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with Scotland and France could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration, but after sending Sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the channel of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl

\* On the 23d of December, Somerset was prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given into parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John

was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king; he recovered his liberty: and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into his council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.



of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: but he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were, March 24, agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the English stipulated to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth. Peace being concluded with France, a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal which seemed suitable to his interests. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled: but this project never took effect.

The king's marriage was not liked by the protestants in England. But several prelates were still addicted to the communion of the church of Rome; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded the execution of the new laws,

\* It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent, and had scarcely any colour of law or justice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a sermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority: neglecting this topic, he was thrown into prison, and there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerset, secretary Petre, and some others of the council, were sent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find some grounds for depriving him: he professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy: but this was not what they desired. A new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: he was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of common prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the law of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles except the first: he maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared, that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed. The council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be hardest of digestion; and, not content with this rigour, they also insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgement of past errors. They also demanded a promise that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: but Gardiner perceiving their intentions, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: he still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: sentence was pronounced against him: he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: his books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages. Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: but the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some

and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their sees during the king's pleasure only\*.

Notwithstanding almost every one had yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary would not comply; and she continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was for some time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience†.

Popery was now the great object of antipathy among the protestant sects, they regarded papists as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partizans by fire and sword. Several Lutheran divines who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were reduced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John Alaisco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country, by the rigours of the catholics, settled during some time at Emden in East Friesland, where he became preacher

forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day, bishop of Chichester; Hame, of Worcester; and Voisey, of Exeter; were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen, of Landaff; Capon, of Salisbury; and Sampson, of Coventry; though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their sees to the rapacious courtiers. These plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all mistal, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher. Many of these books were plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this idleness was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: the volumes of divinity suffered for their rich bindings: those of literature were condemned as useless: those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy. The universities had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: they were in danger of losing their own revenues: and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his associates.

† The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade that her religious faith was ill-grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, and the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the error of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: she only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: and as for protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf in 1551, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her: but though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: and when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.



to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious useful people, not only gave them the church of Augustine Friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies. These differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer underwent a new revival, and some rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted. The speculative doctrines were reduced to forty-two articles. They were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was regarded as a more material object to the people.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have been ever uppermost in their thoughts: they even found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Lutterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other aliens\*. The council now thought it expedient to annul the privileges of this corporation; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprized to find them revoked by the same authority. The remonstrances of Lubec, Hamburg, and other Hanse-towns were of non-effect; for the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation.

About this time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom; that if he sent other merchandise, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger. The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, set the mint to work: good specie was coined; and much of the base metal formerly issued was recalled: a circumstance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce. But all these schemes for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman, not contented with the station which he had attained, carried farther his pretensions, and had gained partisans, who were disposed to

second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet, lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of the earl of Pembroke. But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or to his partisans, as steps only to further acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his wishes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass, with more certainty, the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of his friends and servants of that unhappy noblemen: he sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland; at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passion of word which dropped from him: they revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested; and Northumberland thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act openly against him†.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their enemy. He was accused of high treason on account of the insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counsellors. Notwithstanding the partiality of Somerset's trial, the proofs were so ill supported, and his defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour. The intention alone of assaulting the privy-counsellor was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: and when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the design which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence by which he was acquitted for the treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: but their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony. Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of accusations and amusements. The

\* So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the Merchants of the Staple, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward, almost all the foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was in a very languishing condition.

† In the night of the 16th of October, the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neulgate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas

Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the *gens d'armes* on a muster-day, to secure the tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: but, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget, Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.



prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, January 22, 1552, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such kindness, that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon\*. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a similar fate, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

The day following, January 23, a session of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new litany was authorised; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship. To use the mass had already been prohibited under severe penalties; and the practice of toleration was equally unknown to all parties. To dissent from the religion of the magistrate, was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority. A law was enacted against usury; that is, against taking any interest for money. This act was the remains of ancient superstition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth†. A bill was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high station, stood most exposed to these tempests of state, yet had they so little regard to public security, or even to their own true interest, that they passed the bill with only one dissenting voice. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever should call the king or any of his heirs named in the statute of the thirty-fifth of the last reign heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should incur a præmunire; for the third, should be attainted for treason. But if any should unadvisedly utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor‡. The commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not choosing that a money-bill should begin in the upper house, framed a new act to the same purpose§. The

parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops on another occasion. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance, he ascribed, not to an interested or timeserving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: and when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill||.

Northumberland, finding the parliament not subservient to his views in all cases, quickly dissolved it; and in order to ensure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, he ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty\*\*. The parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had in the interval, March, 1553, been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland. The commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most difficult

\* Not long after the execution of Somerset, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them friends of that nobleman, were brought to their trial, condemned and executed: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was on some pretence tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000*l.* with the loss of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shewn to Somerset.

† The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at that time fourteen pounds per cent.

‡ It may be worthy of remark, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were professedly of different religions; religions which threw on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets and religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime so severely punished by the statute.

§ By this act the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them.

|| This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age,

was ascribed by Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, though it had passed the upper house. This parliament, which had sitted during this whole reign, was therefore dissolved on the 15th of April, and soon after a new one was summoned.

\*\* He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them, shall, in our behalf, recommend within their jurisdiction men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire; that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel." Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton, to Hampshire; Sir William Fitzwilliams, and Sir Henry Nevill, to Berkshire; Sir William Drury, and Sir Henry Benningfield, to Suffolk, &c. &c.



to be obtained: they granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths\*.

Northumberland represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: and though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard, that they were the king's sisters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: that when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Grey, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion, and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigoted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other. Northumberland, finding his arguments likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk having died this season of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he made alliances with several noble families in a matrimonial way, in so much that he greatly strengthened his interest. These marriages were solemnised with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

In the year 1552, Edward had been seized first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health: and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there overheated himself in exercise: he was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it

was hoped, that as the season advanced his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, those about his person saw with great concern his bloom and vigour decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber. The languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: he pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare; and by these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges; with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders, or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said, that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority. The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last Montague proposed an expedient which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, preferred justice on this occasion to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater

\* To render this present the more acceptable they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible rebellion." The debts of the crown were at that time considerable. The king had received from France four hundred thousand crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had

reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been despoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use: yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about three hundred thousand pounds; and great dilapidations were at the same time made of the royal demesnes.



security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent: the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king. Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards, that he only signed as witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the dukes of Suffolk: for the dukes herself was content to give place to her daughters.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. His physicians were now dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, July 6, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign\*.

The following character is given by Cardan, a famous Italian, who wrote it, after the death of Edward, and in Italy, where this prince was deemed an heretic; and when he could not expect any thing by the flattery of sycophants:

"All the graces were in him. He had many tongues when he was but a child: together with the English his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French: nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more. But for the English, French, and Latin, he was exact in them; and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music. The sweetness of his temper was such as become a mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it. And afterwards he adds, he was a marvellous boy: when I was with him, he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he spake Latin as politely and as promptly as I did: he asked me what was the subjects of my books, *de rerum varietate*, which I dedicated to him? I answered, that in the first chapter I gave the true cause of comets, which had been long enquired into, but was never found out before. What is it, said he? I said, it was the concurrence of the light of wandering stars. He answered, how can that be, since the stars move in different motions? How comes it that the comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them according to their motions? To this I answered, they do move after them, but much quicker than they by reason of the different aspect, as we see in a chrystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from the wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the king said, how can that be, where there is no subject to receive that light, as the wall is the

subject for the rainbow? To this I answered, that this was as in the milky-way, or where many candles were lighted, the middle place where their shining met was white and clear. From this little taste it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned men the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: and in him there was such an attempt in nature, that not only England, but the whole world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute: he meddled in affairs of state; and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father, though he even, when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground in suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy."

It is said, king Edward was in body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them. He kept a book in which he wrote the characters of all chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and justices of the peace over England, marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as also in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and the way of coming into them. He had acquired so great knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors who were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him, in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almost every thing he heard, which he wrote first in Greek character, that those about him might not understand them, and afterward copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept. This journal, written with his own hand, is still preserved in Sir John Cotton's famous library. In it the most considerable transactions in this reign are perhaps as well regulated (says bishop Nicholson) by the young king himself, as by any other historian.

#### C H A P. IV.

#### M A R Y

THE princess Mary's title to the crown, after the demise of her brother Edward, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections started by lady Jane Grey's partizans were entirely new. Though the protestants, and even some of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined

#### THAT IS:

Let the whole world their common loss deplore,  
For Edward dies, and glory is no more;  
He was the good man's hope, youth's brightest flow'r,  
Joy of the age, and pride of sovereign pow'r:  
For him Apollo and Minerva mourn,  
Their blooming hope untimely dead and gone.  
Whilst these last gifts the weeping Nine bestow,  
Melpomene laments in strains of woe,  
And hails thee fleeing to the shades below.

\* He was buried on the 8th of August following, in Henry the VIIIth's chapel at Westminster, where a superb monument was erected to his memory. Cardan's epitaph on this virtuous prince is as follows:

*Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orbe,  
Mortales; vester corrumpit omnis honor.  
Nam regum decus, Juvenum flos, spesq; bonorum,  
Delitit sceleris, Et gloria gentis erat.  
Dignus Apollineis lacrimis doctusq; Minervæ:  
Flosculus hunc misere concidit ante diem.  
Te tumulo dabimus Musæ, supremæq; flentes  
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.*







that their issue ought, on that account, to be regarded as illegitimate. During the reign of Edward, the princess Mary was regarded as his lawful successor: and though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred universally entertained against the Dudleys, who men foresaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their council, and the consolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within a few miles of London. The earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her: she immediately retired, first to Kenning-Hall, in Norfolk, then to Framlingham, in Suffolk; where she proposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person. And she dispatched a message to the council; by which she notified to them, that her brother's death was no longer a secret to her, promised them pardon for past offences, and requested them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London. Northumberland found that further dissimulation was fruitless: he went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprize, that she received intelligence of them\*. But such was her passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, that she had never opened her heart to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was no wife agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprize so dangerous, not to say so criminal; and desired to remain in the private station in which she was born. Overcome at last by the intreaties, rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgement. It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; and by this means became in reality prisoners in the hands of Northumberland; whose will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: the people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a butcher's apprentice, was severely punished for this of-

fence. The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience.

In the mean time the Suffolk people paid their attendance on Mary: as they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, expressing apprehensions for their religion; but when she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they insisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcements. The earl of Bath and Suffex, the eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt; Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Sir Henry Jernegan, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare for that princess.

Northumberland's ambition had hitherto blinded him, but he saw at last the danger gathered round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces, which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance he knew had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished him, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed, and represented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in these parts, was more proper to command in that enterprize. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel his mortal enemy. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Grey, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, God speed you!" The duke had no sooner reached St. Edmundsbury, than he found his army, amounting to about six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's, which was double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; and the counsellors immediately left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being assembled at Baynard's Castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprize which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their past offences, was by a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. This motion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any

\* Jane Grey was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, accomplished parts: and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater felicity in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other oc-

cupations and amusements usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park, and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him, she received more pleasure from that author, than the others could reap from their sport and gaiety.

† Speed, p. 816.



man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and alderman of London were immediately sent for, who were ready to assist in the proclamation of Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction, than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her: and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

The queen ordered the duke of Northumberland to be taken into custody. He fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel who arrested him, and abjectly begged his life. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwick, his eldest son; lord Ambrose, and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons; Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk recovered his liberty; which was owing in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But Northumberland's guilt was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? And whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could sit as his judges? Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons lying under any sentence of attainder were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury; he acquiesced, pleaded guilty, was consequently condemned, and was executed August 22d \*. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded greatly in their favour.

On Mary's first arrival at the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonsal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. They were all restored to liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding it was passed in parliament, was represented as of non-effect, because among other informalities, no special matter had been alledged against him, except wearing a coat of arms which he

and his ancestors without giving any offence had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation †. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament.

Everyone rejoiced on account of the succession of the lawful heir: but they were somewhat unsettled concerning the future state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen, were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princess, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence she believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprung. The discouragements which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before she discovered her intentions. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonsal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the same, by the sentence and commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonsal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to foresee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York; Coverdale, bishop of Exeter; Ridley, of London; and Hooper, of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into a frenzy and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten; because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: one in particular was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

Crammer's merits towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had success-

\* At his execution he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors.

† Courtney soon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in such close confinement, that he

was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years which he lived after the recovery of his liberty.



fully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement by his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause; the primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution\*. On the publication of his sentiments respecting the Latin service, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Every one perceived the persecution gathering against the reformers, and Peter Martyr, a zealous foreigner of the protestant persuasion, desired leave to retire from the kingdom; and while some bigoted catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and therefore furnished him with supplies for his journey: but as bigoted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. John à Laſco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformers and the reformation.

The protestants expected no protection from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble on the 5th of October. Many devoted to the ancient religion became candidates for seats in the house of parliament; and

those who hesitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them noxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be willing to forward Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter†. The bill passed by this obsequious parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catharine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by the vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauses of the riot act passed in the late reign were revived: a step which eluded in a great measure the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament. Notwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband, in particular, was of such importance to the interest of the nation, that they were determined not to submit in that respect to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages, concerning which it was supposed, that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections, and hints were dropped him of her favourable disposition towards him‡.

As soon as Charles heard of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this incident to ballance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany§. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger

\* A report being spread, that Cranmer in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: that this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect this purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies.

† In opening the parliament, the court shewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

‡ That nobleman, however, neglected these overtures; and seemed rather to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister. On this account Mary treated Devonshire with coldness; and declared her animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had sunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catharine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the

reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in disclosing her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance. But when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger. Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III.; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court and the hurry of business. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: but as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negotiation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office. These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance and protection.

§ By his intrigues and power, Charles had become almost the sole master of Germany; and by the exercise of his arbitrary will, he had disgusted the Germans, who were apprehen-



man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and alderman of London were immediately sent for, who were ready to assist in the proclamation of Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction, than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her: and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

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On Mary's first arrival at the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonsal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. They were all restored to liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding it was passed in parliament, was represented as of non-effect, because among other informalities, no special matter had been alledged against him, except wearing a coat of arms which he

and his ancestors without giving any offence had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation†. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament.

Everyone rejoiced on account of the succession of the lawful heir: but they were somewhat unsettled concerning the future state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen, were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princess, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence she believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprung. The discouragements which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before she discovered her intentions. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonsal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the same, by the sentence and commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonsal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to foresee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York; Coverdale, bishop of Exeter; Ridley, of London; and Hooper, of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to these illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into a frenzy and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten; because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: one in particular was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

Cranmer's merits towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had success-

\* At his execution he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors.

† Courtney soon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in such close confinement, that he

was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years which he lived after the recovery of his liberty.



fully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement by his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause; the primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution\*. On the publication of his sentiments respecting the Latin service, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Every one perceived the persecution gathering against the reformers, and Peter Martyr, a zealous foreigner of the protestant persuasion, desired leave to retire from the kingdom; and while some bigoted catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and therefore furnished him with supplies for his journey: but as bigoted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. John à Lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformers and the reformation.

The protestants expected no protection from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble on the 5th of October. Many devoted to the ancient religion became candidates for seats in the house of parliament; and

those who hesitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them noxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be willing to forward Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter†. The bill passed by this obsequious parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catharine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by the vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauses of the riot act passed in the late reign were revived: a step which eluded in a great measure the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament. Notwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband, in particular, was of such importance to the interest of the nation, that they were determined not to submit in that respect to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages, concerning which it was supposed, that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections, and hints were dropped him of her favourable disposition towards him‡.

As soon as Charles heard of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this incident to ballance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany§. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger

\* A report being spread, that Cranmer in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: that this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect this purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies.

† In opening the parliament, the court shewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

‡ That nobleman, however, neglected these overtures; and seemed rather to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister. On this account Mary treated Devonshire with coldness; and declared her animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had sunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catharine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the

reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in disclosing her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance. But when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger. Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III.; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court and the hurry of business. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: but as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negotiation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office. These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance and protection.

§ By his intrigues and power, Charles had become almost the sole master of Germany; and by the exercise of his arbitrary will, he had disgusted the Germans, who were apprehensive



younger than the queen, this objection it was thought would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to Mary, who embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: and Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time he represented both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed, "That the parliament amidst all their compliances had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined to grant no farther concessions in favour of the catholic religion: that though they might make a sacrifice to their sovereign of some speculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: that the danger of resuming the abbey-lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection: that the marriage being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged: and that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions favourable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges." The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negotiation for the mar-

riage mean while proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and, on the 6th of December, they sent a committee to remonstrate, in strong terms, against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve a parliament which she found not willing to comply with all her caprices.

At the same time with the parliament, a convocation had been summoned, and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion\*.

On the dismissal of the parliament and convocation, the new laws with regard to religion were more openly put in execution: the mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken for the clergy on their receiving any benefice.

This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships to which so many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, "that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges: that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line become extinct, that then the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip." Such was the treaty of marriage signed by count Egmont, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor, on the 15th of January, 1554.

five that their liberties would be extinguished by the encroachments of that monarch. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations, and from the same principle he met with that opposition which overthrew his grandeur, and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties, that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which insured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprize in person, and seemed determined at all hazards to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Metz with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune, which in his declining years had so fatally overtaken him.

\* An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to

dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined that they had obtained some advantage, when in the course of the debate they obliged the catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Christ, had in his last supper, *held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself*. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: the Romanists maintained, that their champions had clearly the better of the day, that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Crammer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their biased principles. The issue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the same place during the reign of Edward Collier. Fox. Hume.

Several







Several complaints against the emperor Charles were diffused in England, and by these means the people were prepared for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hostilities with the emperor; refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection; lest he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons, however, imagined that it would be safer to prevent than to redress grievances; and they formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt proposed to raise Kent; Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the Midland counties. Carew's impatience or apprehensions, engaged him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before the day appointed: he was soon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this intelligence Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the town, with his brothers lord Thomas and lord Leonard Grey; and endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his interest lay; but he was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horse, that he was obliged to disperse his followers, and being discovered in his concealment, he was carried prisoner to London. Wyatt was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners commanded by Bret: and he came within sight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to desert from them; but having secretly gained Bret, these two malcontents so wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deserted to Wyatt; and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city. After this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wyatt was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that she should put the Tower into his hands, should deliver four counsellors as hostages, and, in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, should immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march for Kingston, that the critical season on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost: though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley on the 6th of February. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion: four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees received a pardon and were dismissed. Wyatt

was condemned and executed: as it had been reported that, at his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire at accomplices, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

The lady Elizabeth, during some time had been treated with great harshness by her sister; and many studied instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court, after the countess of Lenox and the duchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate. Her friends were discountenanced on every occasion: and while her virtues drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation, the malevolence of the queen discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made by Wyatt, rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence which might have offered; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard to Woodstock. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay-castle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Grey, as well as to her husband: the duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. The lady Jane was even ordered to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered no wise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who harassed her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded during that time to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, February 12, her husband, lord Guildford desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them: their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they should soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their everlasting happiness\*. Lady Jane Grey saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more

\* It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guildford together on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth,

beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower.



confirmed by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle \*. On the scaffold she made a speech to the by-standers; in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She said, "that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy. That she had less erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom she had been taught to respect and obey: that she willingly received death, as the only satisfaction which she could now make to the injured state; and though her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she would shew, by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that she was desirous to atone for that disobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that she had justly deserved this punishment for being made the instrument, though against her inclination, of the ambition of others: and that the story of her life, she hoped, might at least be useful, by proving that innocence excuses not great misdeeds, if they tend anywise to the destruction of the commonwealth." After uttering these words, she caused herself to be disrobed by her woman; and with a steady serene countenance submitted herself to the hands of the executioner.

Soon after the execution of the above noble personages, the duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed. Lord Thomas Grey lost his life for the same crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no satisfactory evidence against him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was so enraged at the disappointment, that instead of releasing him as the law required, she re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. Her resentment stopped not here: the jury being summoned before the council, were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined, some of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-piece. This violence proved fatal to several; among others, to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower and other prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in different fortresses.

Notwithstanding the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wyat's rebel-

lion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble on the 5th of April †. Not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen resumed the title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of choosing a husband for herself; observed how proper a use she made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIIIth's posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniencies which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor: a power, he said, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, since it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII. Though the parliament was much disposed to gratify the queen in all her desires; yet when the liberty and independency of the nation were in such visible danger, they could not be brought to compliance. They knew both her hatred to the lady Elizabeth and her attachment to the house of Austria: they were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to set aside all considerations of justice to the establishment of the catholic religion: they imagined that a design was formed of excluding Elizabeth as illegitimate: they expected that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy: and they were the more alarmed with these projects, as they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance. The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage, which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: they would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading ‡. And the queen, finding that they would not serve all her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them on the 5th of May.

The queen's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected §. A squadron under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain.

\* Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: she gave him her table-book on which she had written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English. The purport of them was, that justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth, at least, and her imprudence were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour.

† The emperor also in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members.

‡ The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law in which they declared, "That her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means. A law passed in this parliament for re-

creating the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward. The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tostal in possession of that see: but though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: but none of these laws could pass the two houses: a proof that the parliament had reserves even in their concessions with regard to religion, about which they seem to have been less scrupulous.

§ This princess, who had lived so many years in a reserved and private manner, without any prospect or hopes of a husband, was so smitten with affection for her young consort, whom she had never seen, that she waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety for discontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a rich dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. Her tenderness was but the more increased by this supercilious treatment; and when she found



Spain, where he then resided; but the admiral informing her that the discontents ran very high among the seamen, and that it was not safe for Philip to entrust himself in their hands, she gave orders to dismiss them. She then dreaded lest the French fleet, being masters of the sea, might intercept her husband; and every rumour of danger, every blast of wind, threw her into panics and convulsions. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip. At last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton on the 19th of July. A few days after they were married in Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation\*, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided.

The queen soon found that her husband's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render him master of England. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant to her will: and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, in November, directing a proper choice of members. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons which was in a great measure to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament, the title of supreme head of the church, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: in order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reversing the attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing

a sincere repentance of their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them into the bosom of the church†. The pope, then Julius III. being informed of these transactions, said; "That it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing." The parliament having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: they revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics, which had been rejected in the former parliament: they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not even procure the parliament's consent to his coronation. All attempts to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: the usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom, seemed to have given place for the present to like passions against Spain. Philip endeavouring to court popularity, procured the release of several prisoners of distinction; particularly lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmund Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, and Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty‡. The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: but that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialists§.

Mary was very desirous of having issue; and this made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb||. Her infant

found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event to which she directed her fondest wishes, she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. Strype. Hume.

\* Philip's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible: but this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he shewed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

† Here we may now observe, notwithstanding the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates: they were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances, from the pope as well as from the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the ecclesiastics should never be enquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors. But not trusting altogether

to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared that, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment.

‡ This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

§ He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

|| Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped in his mother's belly at the salutation of the Virgin. Dispatches were immediately sent to inform



infant proved only the commencement of a dropfy, which her disordered state of health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, in the beginning of 1555, which in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them\*.

Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, met with great success in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points to which they bore an extreme aversion. This so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or controul. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth or station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity, were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain by terror the bold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shewn, that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion, which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it soon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. The debates of the council relative to the toleration of protestanism being concluded, it was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion!

The persecutors, to their eternal shame be it recorded, began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for

learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom he hoped terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: but he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all sects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, awaked him from sleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield †.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity: the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: the faggots were green, and did not kindle easy: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked: one of his hands dropped off: with the other he continued to bear his breast; he was heard to pray and exhort the people; till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy ‡.

Sanders was burned at Coventry: a pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English: one of the guards struck him in the mouth, and bade him speak Latin: another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which put an end to his torments.

Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, was so inflamed with zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face, to shew the great detestation which he had entertained against that species of heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: he said, "That he was led to it in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian §." Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield ||.

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the

cruelties

inform foreign courts of this event: orders were issued to give public thanks: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already settled; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of bearing children.

\* There happened an incident this session which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession in order to shew their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend

the house. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's Bench after the dissolution of parliament: six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: the rest traversed, and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue.

† Fox, vol. III. p. 219. Burnet, vol. II. p. 302.

‡ Fox, vol. III. p. 245, &c. Burnet, vol. II. p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349.

§ Strype, vol. III. p. 261, and Coll. No. 58.

|| Here let us remark, that the crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the



cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in those religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished \*." One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded, but Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man to stand by his trial. Hunter hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was condemned to the flame by that barbarous prelate. Thomas Hawkes, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so supported him, that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired †. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom. And those of the tender sex, as they had commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of it against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of the unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it: but a magistrate on the spot ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent ‡. The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing, contrary to the established religion: they were seized merely on suspicion;

and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames §. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven on their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole protestant party was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors. Repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and in some places the gentry were constrained to countenance by their presence those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the harm which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: he ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence, a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar ||. But the court finding that Bonner, however, shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without controul. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. Twenty-one persons were named; but any three were armed with the power of the whole \*\*. Some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons. To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion ††." Secret spies also and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, "That they should call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their limits, or more at their discretion, and command them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall secretly learn and search out such persons as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall despise openly by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or

dious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his head to the candle till the sinews and veins thrunk and burst. Fox, vol. III. p. 187.

\* The executioners had been so merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be ascribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their torture: the explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during some time in the midst of the flames. Burnet, vol. II. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

† Fox, vol. III. p. 265.

‡ Fox, vol. III. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57. Burnet, vol. II. p. 337.

§ Burnet, vol. II. p. 306.

|| Heylin, p. 56.

\*\* The commission runs in these terms: "That since many

false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them, the commissioners were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and to search after all heresies; the bringers in, the tellers, the readers of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service, that could not go in processions, or did not take any holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws: giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them, and use all such means as they would invent for the searching of the premises: empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make an oath of such things as might discover what they sought after. Burnet, vol. II. Coll. 32.

†† Burnet, vol. II. p. 242.



go about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And also that the same persons so to be appointed, shall declare to the same justices of peace the ill behaviour of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons, and that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear, upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing \*." In some respects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition, by introducing, into every part of government, the same iniquities which that tribunal practises for the extirpation of heresy only. But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any further delay be executed by martial law †." We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities ‡.

This mode of the burning of heretics was esteemed a very natural way of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little sollicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which his predecessors had reaped such considerable profit. There was a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute; the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Crane; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church. Paul IV. after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been raised to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms, or abolish the old: but to avoid all disputes with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was a usual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent, and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would bestow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner. Another point in discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors, was not so easily terminated. Paul insisted, "That the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing: that whatever belonged to God could never, by any law, be converted to profane uses; and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in consideration of the humble

submissions of the English, make them a present of these ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain, that so great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blast all their future happiness: that if they would truly shew their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth." These earnest remonstrances being transmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown: and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the poverty of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, "That if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England." These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place so easily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: the great seal was given to Heath, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the persecutions against those of the reformed religion.

The persecutions on account of religion were become very odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on the 21st of October. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tithes and first-fruits and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, "That while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it." The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of peace. The queen finding that the commons were not entirely devoted to her interests, thought proper to dissolve the parliament on the 9th of December following. Mary was now greatly affronted and dejected on account of her husband's absence §, and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects; by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company. The less return her love met with, the more it increased, and she passed more of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love

\* Burnet, vol. III. p. 246, 247.

† Burnet, vol. II. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79.

‡ It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet it is much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author, (Father Paul, lib. v.) computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that

the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new opinion, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

§ Philip, becoming tired of his queen's importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over the last summer to the emperor in Flanders.



or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended, was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy her demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best assured: but that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expences, and dismiss their servants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: and as these servants, accustomed to idleness, and having no means of subsistence, commonly betook themselves to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied sixty thousand marks on seven thousand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted thirty-six thousand pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp, having refused her a loan of forty thousand pounds, she dissembled her resentment till she found that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: she then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the forty thousand pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of twenty thousand pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after she was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above forty thousand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the usual imposition: she struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquity, the sum of fifty thousand pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit was so low, that though she offered fourteen *per cent.* to the city of Antwerp for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, she could not obtain it, till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her. All these violent expedients were employed, while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his convenience, and shewed himself entirely indifferent about the interests of his queen, or the welfare of her nation.

Philip was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor Charles V. who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries on the 25th of October, and, seating himself on the throne for the

last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon him\*. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, *the study of his people's happiness*; and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection, rather than by fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, and kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction. A few months after, in the beginning of 1556, he resigned to Philip his other dominions: and, embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, and not to his person†.

This year an act of barbarity was exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of the same kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and, in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby, of Ely, were sent to degrade him, and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed, but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be carried immediately to execution.

\* Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 20.

† He pursued, however, his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any enquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. He is even said to have here discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments.

Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur: and how impossible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion. He survived his retreat two years.



This happened on the 21st of March. Cranmer, whether that he had secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him: that a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and, by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames\*.

Some time after Cranmer's death cardinal Pole, who had taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous disposition of the queen and her counsellors. He himself had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning pontiff, was a furious persecutor, and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modesty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success.

The queen was now anxious to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with some other counsellors, openly and zealously opposed this measure in 1557. Philip had previously come to London in order to urge the queen to the undertaking, and to support his partizans. He told the queen, that if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprizing Scar-

borough; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like secret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were every where made for making an attack on that kingdom. The queen now got together a very considerable fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearth of provisions; but by an act of tyranny she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By various acts of arbitrary power she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards to whose care they were entrusted in their way to that prison.

The king of Spain had assembled an army which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Marienbourg and Rocroy, suddenly sat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scottish gendarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle Montmorency, on the 10th of August, desiring a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did such execution upon them, that not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: among the latter was the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat, was surrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry; and had the Spaniards presently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recall the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: and the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprize: he broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters. But the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enter-

\* It is pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found intire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those

virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party.



prize, which France during her greatest successes had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be recovered, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha, and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recall them in spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprize being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise. Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais in the beginning of 1558. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the Channel, under colour of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnam bridge and the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their assistance he was unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion. The duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fossée, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgement in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guines fell soon after\*. The Scots finding their ancient allies, the French, thus successful, began to move on the borders of England. Hereupon the English began to murmur; and the queen became necessitated to defend the kingdom, rather than to think of foreign conquests.

After the peace, which took place between Scotland and England, in consequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, the queen-dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to

France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was, to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and by his authority, the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy, of Kinnaird; Panter, bishop of Ross; and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning; three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation, and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with respect and civility; though he attempted to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter. When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays, that he could be persuaded to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and from that time, April 12, 1554, she assumed the name of regent. D'Oisel, a Frenchman, celebrated for his capacity, had attended her as ambassador from Henry, but in reality to assist her with his counsels in so delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles. But though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuously confessing that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects. This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was she sometimes drawn from it by her connections with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of the French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent, and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered D'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eymouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England. The enterprizes, however, of the Scots, proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: when D'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council. In order to connect Scotland more closely

\* Thus the duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Cressly. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the

glory acquired by Guise, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies, the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place which no former king of France, even during the distractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt.



with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and settle the terms of the contract.

The close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen therefore found it necessary, on the 20th of January, 1558, to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. The commons voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions. The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in Mary's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons\*.

The people of England, during this whole reign, were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her broke out on every occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her time wholly in reading and study, intermeddled in no business, and saw very little company. While she remained in this situation, which for the present was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for those great actions, by which her life was afterwards so much distinguished; proposals of marriage were made to her by the Swedish ambassador in his master's name. As her first question was, whether the queen had been informed of these proposals? the ambassador told her, that his master thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herself; and having obtained her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister. But the princess would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth, though exposed to many present dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of a passionate attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred before any other. The princess shewed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject†.

The supply granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which, be-

ing joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest well guarded; so that an attempt on that place was impracticable; but landing at Conquêt, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kerfimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to the rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace upon the French. The marshal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport, but count Egmont coming upon him with a superior force, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all possible precaution; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he reasonably thought gave him full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory. Meanwhile the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enterprising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negotiations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England: but in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that article. The queen had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who she knew intended soon to depart for Spain, and to settle there during the remainder of his life. Reflections

\* One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: but his words were thought irreverent to her majesty: he was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms; and though he expressed sorrow for his offence, he was not released till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

† The common net at that time, says Sir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the doctrine of the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ,

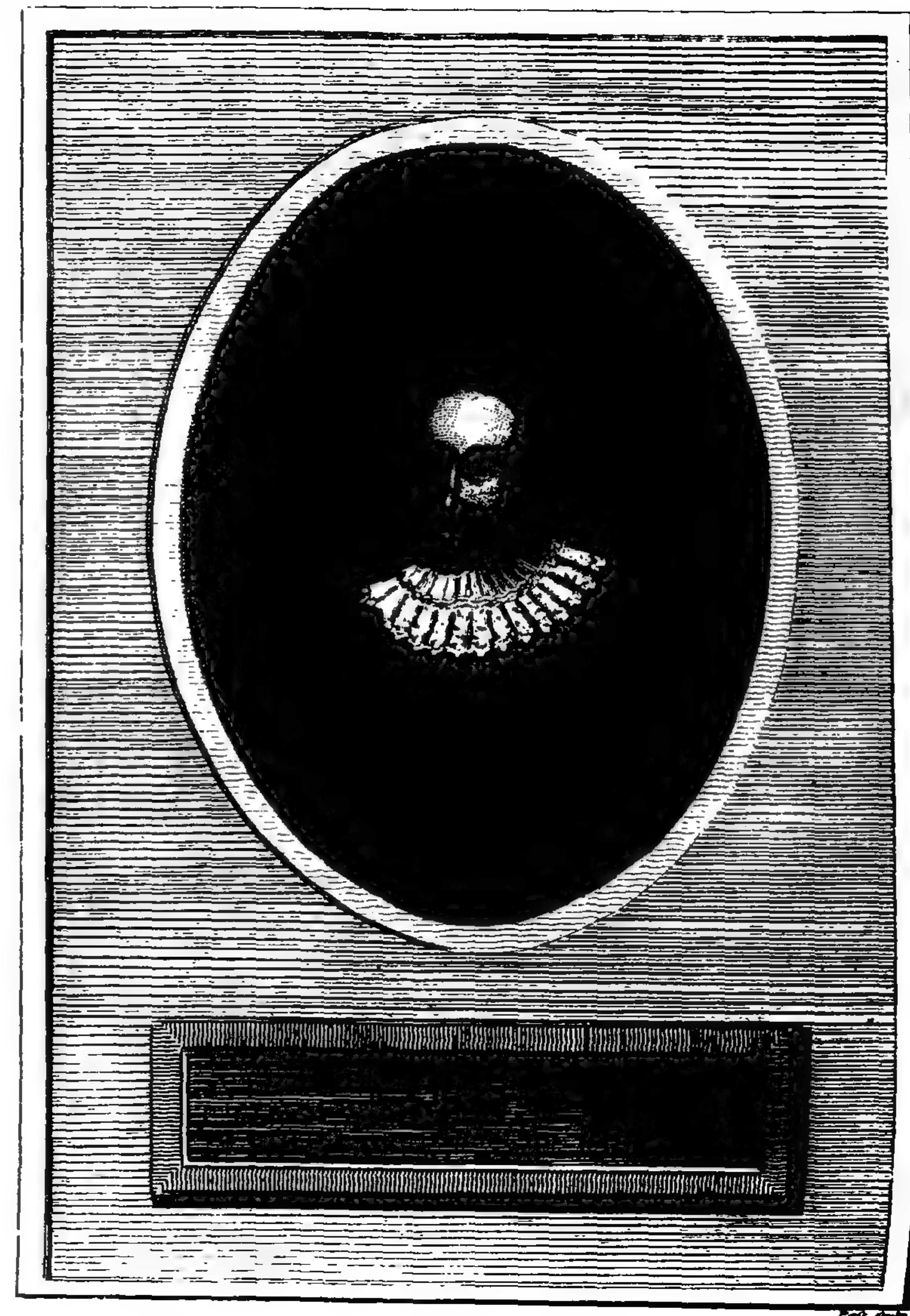
*This is my body*, whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the sacrament. It is said, that after pausing she thus answered:

"Christ was the word that spake it;  
He took the bread and break it;  
And what the word did make it,  
That I believe and take it."

Which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidity than at first appears; at least, it saved her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.



*Engraved for Ashmole's History of England.*





preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died on the 17th of November, 1558\*, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days †.

“It is not necessary, says Hume, to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices, which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; a quality which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigoted woman, under the government of priests, easily finds casuistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of a promise. She appears also, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachments of friendship; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were so remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.”

C H A P. V.

E L I Z A B E T H.

IT will hardly be credited, when we assert, that upon the demise of Mary and the consequent accession of Elizabeth, an universal joy seemed to diffuse itself over the countenances of the English; especially when it is considered, that Elizabeth held the doctrines of the church of Rome, to which Mary was so great a bigot, in the utmost contempt.

A parliament had been assembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heathe, archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of “God save queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she reign!” The people, less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the

auspicious commencement of this reign prognosticated that felicity and glory which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it. Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and, after a few days, she went thence to London through crouds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection ‡. After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her sister's death, and her own accession. She sent lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had so happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. But Elizabeth declined the proposal.

Elizabeth wrote to Sir Edward Crane, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope, but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess §. The queen finding the pope inclined to treat her with severity, recalled her ambassador, and continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced.

Elizabeth not wishing to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but, in order to ballance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion ||. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprize. Cecil told her, “That the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and, though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it: that happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even, if she were al-

\* Cardinal Pole had long been sickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; insomuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained some prejudices against him: and when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Payto, an observantine friar and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authority.

† Queen Mary was buried in Henry the VIIIth's chapel at Westminster.

‡ On her entrance into the Tower, she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune, and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expressed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried

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all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Bennisfield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave prostitute and undistinguishing. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity. Burnet. Heylin.

§ The haughty prelate told Crane, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage; that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: and that, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see.

|| These were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state.



lowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependant footing: that this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: that the curses and execrations of the Rornish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: that though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always ensure to her the friendship of the other: that if they encouraged the discontents of her catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them: that even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the catholic faith, would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: that the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first ensured the people to this submissive deference; and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed: and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church, and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant \*."

Elizabeth's education as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party whose cause she should espouse. But, though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late persecutions. She recalled the exiles, and liberated those who were imprisoned on account of religion †. The queen proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative during that age ‡. The declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee, with certainty, a revolution in religion.

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 377. Camden, p. 370. Hume, ch. xxxviii.

† We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, "That he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John:" she readily replied, "That it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them, whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them." Heylin, p. 103.

‡ Finding that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the Gospels, to be read in English. And, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. Camden. Heylin. Strype. Stowe.

§ When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the

They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony §. In the procession Elizabeth, by her open address and courteous behaviour, acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude; and while a young princess of twenty-five years, (for that was her age at her accession,) who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services; her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

Elizabeth wisely delayed the change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seemed not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority ||; and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawul, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawtully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII \*\*." The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated governess, not head, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by his father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was against them ††. Whosoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whosoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a præmunire; but the third offence

city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Burnet. Strype.

|| Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the protestant sect, it appears, that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections: five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough, and three to each county; and, by the sheriff's authority, the members were chosen from among these candidates. See State Papers, collected by Edward, earl of Clarendon, p. 92.

\*\* 1 Eliz. cap. 3.

†† By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious right or ceremony. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the acts, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission; which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution.



was declared treason. A law was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion: the nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years, or three lives. A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment. The protestants emboldened by this victory, ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections. This session the commons voted the queen a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with a refusal from the queen\*. On the prorogation of the parliament, May 8, 1559, the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen by a sickly season, which preceded; and all these, except the bishop of Landaff, having refused compliance, were degraded from their sees; but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near ten thousand parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifteen prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles.

The rites still preserved in the English liturgy, bearing some resemblance to the ancient service, tended in some measure to reconcile the catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church.

Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

During these transactions the negotiations for a peace with France were conducted, first to Cercamp, then at Chateau-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all such views, his ministers hinted to her a proposal, which may be regarded as reasonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were settled, he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction; provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years: but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration; the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergence, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss, than submit to such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambassadors, lord Effingham, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negotiation, and to settle a peace with Henry, on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin, and the eldest son of Elizabeth; and to engage for the restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess; but as the queen was sensible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evasion, she insisted upon more equitable, at least more plausible conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais

\* She told the speaker, "That, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence to the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: that any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make us subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: that even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion, and the happiness of her subjects: that as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge, (and here she shewed her finger with the same gold ring upon it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inau-

guration,) so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: that if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare was still to be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but Divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people: and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved on her tomb-stone, when she should pay the last debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen." Sir Simon d'Ewes.



at the expiration of eight years; that in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages, till that security were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress\*. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

Not long after the conclusion of the peace, Mary, queen of Scots, called in question the legitimacy of Elizabeth, and consequently denied her right to succeed to the throne†. Elizabeth alarmed at the danger, conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II. still continued to assume without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her greatest enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, not only of revenging the injury, but of providing for her own future safety.

The murder of cardinal Beaton at St. Andrew's had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws against heresy began thenceforth to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom with prudence; and not being disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy, she deemed it more expedient to connive at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the English throne, she hoped that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardour with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors: but herein she was disappointed, for many of the English preachers, terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took

\* Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the course of the war; and Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns, retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

† The next heir of blood, says Hume, was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negotiated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse: the duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking it would much augment their credit, if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as the title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France in-

shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection and a milder administration, and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigoted catholics, and shewed their disciples the fate which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrolled authority over them. Some heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorne, the earls of Morton and Glencaine, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or association; and called themselves the Congregation of the Lord, in contradiction to the established church, which they denominated the Congregation of Satan‡. Before this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progress of the reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power, which tended still farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, seized Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrew's, condemned him to the flames for heresy§. The man bore the torture with that courage which, though usual on these occasions, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace. This was the last barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland. Some time after this transaction, the people discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate which was awaiting them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the protestants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church; and they pleased themselves with imagining the surprize and disappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed hastily a new image, which, in derision, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the streets attended by all the ecclesiastics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abstained from violence so long as the queen-

tended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown:

‡ The tenor of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour, by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people: we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble against the said congregation, unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions. At Edinburgh the 3d of December, 1557." Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

§ Such general aversion was entertained against this barbarity, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce sentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the shops of St. Andrew's being shut, no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate himself was obliged to furnish this implement.



regent continued a spectator, but the moment she retired, they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the priests and friars, who, it was remarked, deserted, in his greatest distress, the object of worship, was the source of universal mockery and laughter. Encouraged by all these appearances, the congregation proceeded to solicit subscriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the accession of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to increase their hopes of success in their undertaking. They presented a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the ecclesiastics. They framed a petition, which they intended to present to parliament, and in which, after premising that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuses of the papistical church, they desired, that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the Scripture should be the sole rule in judging of heresy. They even petitioned the convocation, and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners; the regent prudently temporized between the parties, and was unwilling to proceed to extremities with either of the contenders. After this concession was obtained, she received orders from France to proceed with rigour against the reformers, and to restore the royal authority by some single act of power. She caused the more eminent of the protestant teachers to be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, she entertained apprehensions of an insurrection, and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise\*, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Sentence, however, was passed, by which all ministers were pronounced rebels, on account of their not appearing. This measure enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities against the clergy of the established religion.

About this time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the religious opinions of that celebrated reformer. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation, in May, 1559; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, he declaimed with vehemence against the idolatry and abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for its subversion. A priest was so imprudent after this sermon, as to open his repository of images and reliques, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience, exalted to a disposition for any furious enterprize, were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: they attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases, and left no implement of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, entire or undamaged. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and great fury, to the monasteries of the Grey and

Black Friars, which they likewise pillaged: the Carthusians underwent the same fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their rage on the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices were left standing. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife soon after imitated the example. The queen-regent, provoked at these violences, assembled an army, and prepared to chastize the rebels. She had about two thousand French under her command, with a few Scottish troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as were well affected to her, she pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprize. The congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencarne from the west, and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from their zeal. They sent an address to the regent, where they plainly insinuated, that if they were pursued to extremities by the cruel beasts the churchmen, they would have recourse to foreign powers for assistance; and they subscribed themselves her faithful subjects in all things not repugnant to God, assuming, at the same time, the name of the Faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained, that their own past violences were justified by the word of God, which commands the godly to destroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though civil authority was sacred, yet was there a great difference between the authority and the persons who exercised it; and that it ought to be considered, whether or not those abominations, called by the pestilent papists, religion, and which they defended by fire and sword, be the true religion of Christ Jesus. They remonstrated with such of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed traitors by God, they should likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the church, which God by his mighty power had erected among them; whose ministers have the same authority which Christ granted to his apostles in these words, 'Whose sins ye shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain shall be retained.'" They joined to these declarations an address to the established church; and they affixed this title to it: "To the generation of antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings† in Scotland, the congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth ‡."

The queen-regent finding the rebels zealous and obstinate, was content to embrace the counsels of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, and to form an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which submitted, on her promising an indemnity for past offences, and engaging not to leave any French garrison in the place. Complaints very ill founded, immediately arose concerning the infraction of this capitulation: some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were molested on account of the late violences; and some companies of Scotch soldiers, supposed to be in French pay, were

ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the Devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you: yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till you desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and gospel we have preached, and holy sacrament rightly administered, we signify unto you, to be our intent, so far as God will assist us to withstand your idolatry. Take this for warning, and be not deceived.

\* Knox, p. 127. It is suggested by some historians, and not without reason, that no express promise was ever given: calumnies easily arise during times of faction, especially those of the religious kind, when men think every art lawful for promoting their purpose. The congregation in their manifesto, in which they enumerate all the articles of the regent's maladministration, do not reproach her with this breach of promise. It was probably nothing but a rumour spread abroad to catch the populace. If the papists have sometimes maintained, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, their adversaries seem also to have thought, that no truth ought to be told of idolaters.

† A contemptuous term for a priest.

‡ The following passage is contained in this address: "As No. XLIII.



quartered in the town; which step, though taken on very plausible grounds, was loudly exclaimed against by the congregation. It is asserted, that the regent, to justify these measures, declared, that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged upon them; *nor was any faith to be kept with heretics*: and that for her part, could she find as good a colour, she would willingly bereave all these men of their lives and fortunes. The congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by these disappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had signed a new covenant, in which, besides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in destroying every thing that dishonoured his holy name; and this covenant was subscribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's. These two leaders now desired no better pretence for deserting the regent, and openly joining their associates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather false, of her breach of promise. The congregation also, encouraged by this accession of force, gave themselves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monasteries with those formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched against them with her army, finding their power so much increased, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers besieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury: finding nothing able to resist them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the congregation against the churches and monasteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with a few forces which remained with her took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France. Meanwhile, she employed her partizans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and endeavoured to convince them, that lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the scheme of wresting the sceptre from the hands of the sovereign. By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the congregation; but much more by the want of pay, or any means of subsistence; and the regent, observing the malecontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the duke of Chatelrault, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publish only the articles favourable to themselves, and they were guilty of an imposture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed.

This reconciliation did not last long; for the queen procured a reinforcement of one thousand men from France, and proceeded to fortify Leith. More French troops soon after disembarked under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These last were supplied with store of syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which, they presumed,

would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery.

The reformers were encouraged by the intelligence which they received of the sudden death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to depart the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became masters of Edinburgh; but found themselves unable to keep possession of that city for any considerable length of time. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated upon the least disaster of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwell distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves justified in applying to England for assistance. Maitland of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth\*.

Elizabeth's good council did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil in particular represented to the queen, "That the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negotiation, to prevent it: that the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: that the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known; and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: that deeming themselves secure of success, they had already taken off the mask; and Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, sent over, by their couriers, incontestible proofs of their hostile intentions: that they only waited till Scotland should be entirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's authority: that the zealous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, and satisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them considerable reinforcement, and would disturb every measure of defence against that formidable power: that the only expedient for preventing these designs was to seize the present opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure, founded on such evident necessity, and directed only to the ends of self-preservation: that though a French war, attended with great expence, seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the malecontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much less formidable; and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: and that the domestic dissensions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise."

Elizabeth was overcome by these powerful motives;

\* The Scotch lords, in their declaration, say, "How far we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, and what just cause we had and have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of God's holy name, and to the confusion of all those that slander us for so doing: for this we fear not to confess, that, as in this enter-

prize against the Devil, against idolatry and the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and only seek God's glory to be noticed unto men, sin to be punished, and virtue to be maintained; so where power faileth of ourselves, we will seek it wheresoever God shall offer the same." Knox, p. 176.



and she prepared herself to support, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the Frith of Forth: she appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men under the command of lord Grey, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France offered her to make immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland, she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishing town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she still continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. And having thus taken all proper measures for success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

On the 15th of January, 1560, Elizabeth's fleet appeared in the Frith, which disconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themselves for defence. The English army, reinforced by five thousand Scots, sat down before the place; and after two skirmishes, in the former of which the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and though repulsed with considerable loss in an ill-conducted assault, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties\*. The French, who found it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, and who saw, that the English were continually reinforced by fresh numbers, were obliged to capitulate on the 5th of July, and the bishop of Valence and Count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose†. In order to hasten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country.

Thus the English and the Scottish reformers became united in their interest, but the subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers, tended still more to cement the union. Being now entirely masters of Scotland, they made no farther ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention should soon be assembled; and the leaders of the congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots should ratify that treaty, thought themselves fully entitled, without the sovereign's authority, immediately to summon a parliament. The reformers presented a petition to this assembly; in which

they were not contented with desiring the establishment of their doctrine; they also applied for the punishment of the catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman harlot; and they asserted, that, among all the rabble of the clergy, such is their expression, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth‡.

The prior of St. John, Sir James Sandilands, was sent to France to obtain the ratification of the acts which were passed; but was ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes. The protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and therefore dispatched Morton, Glencairne, and Liddington, to express their sincere gratitude to Elizabeth for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them.

Elizabeth had equal reason to maintain a union with the Scottish protestants; and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title; and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for the affront they had put upon her, by openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition which had arisen against the measures of the duke of Guise. It was the contest of religion which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose their unlimited authority. The theological disputes which had disturbed other parts of Christendom, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the proselytes to the new religion were secretly increasing in every province. The house of Guise, though the factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one

\* Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion by a storm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a considerable army on board, and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the castle of Edinburgh. She was endowed with all the capacity which shone forth in her family, but possessed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it.

† It was there stipulated that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; and the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England; or assuming the title of that kingdom: that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and the commissioners should meet to settle this point; or if they would not agree, that the king of Spain should be umpire between the crowns. Besides these stipulations, which regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland; that the states should choose seven, and the king five; and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed during the queen's absence;

and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without consent of the states.

‡ The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a concession of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they passed a statute against the mass, and not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be chastized, for the first offence, with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland: the presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the invasion of their property; but the parliament took no notice of them, till, at last, these ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as no body presented himself, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint.



chief cause of Elizabeth's success, were determined not to relinquish their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into prison; they obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put the sentence into execution, when the king's sudden death saved the noble prisoner, and interrupted the prosperity of the duke of Guise. The queen's mother was appointed regent, December 4, to her son Charles IX. now in his minority: the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the sentence against Condé was annulled: the constable was recalled to court: and the family of Guise, though they still enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoise to their authority.

Elizabeth, in the beginning of 1561, was determined to make advantage of these events against the queen of Scots, whom she still regarded as a dangerous rival. She saw herself freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis; but she considered, at the same time, that the English catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princess with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambassador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able minister, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her satisfaction of the treaty of Edinburgh. But though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this important article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to resign her pretensions in any formal manner. Meanwhile, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortification which she had met with during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country; to which end she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England: but she received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his mistress in a demand which he represented as so reasonable. The queen of Scots having ordered her servants to leave her apartment, said to him, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity, as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having asked, with so much importunity, a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without her leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an expe-

riment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person. I have often heard you say, that a good correspondence between her and myself would conduce much to the security and happiness of both our kingdoms: were she well convinced of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so small a request. But, perhaps, she bears a better inclination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs of her state: not that I am ignorant, that there are now in England a great many malecontents, who are no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am already old enough to acquit myself honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as she, and not altogether friendless; and perhaps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. She has often reproached me with my being young; and I must be very young indeed, and as ill-advised, to treat of matters of such great concern and importance without the advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all my friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood: for that, indeed, would be a most valuable alliance." This spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging terms interspersed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendship between these rival princesses, or cure those mutual jealousies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of pursuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived safely at Leith on the 19th of August, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers\*. As soon as the French galleys appeared off Leith, the people of all ranks flocked towards the shore with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. Some were led by duty, some by interest, some by curiosity; and all combined to express their attachment to her, and to insinuate themselves into her confidence, on the commencement of her administration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and beauty of her person, were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius.

The first measures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favour. She bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greatest influence over the

\* This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. Besides her natural prepossessions in favour of a country in which she had been educated from her earliest infancy, and where she had borne so high a rank, she could not forbear both regretting the society of that people, so celebrated for their humane disposition, and their respectful attachment to their sovereign, and reflecting on the disparity of the scene which lay before her. It is said that, after she was embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till

darkness fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time: and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat upon her couch, and still looking towards the land, often repeated these words: "Farewell France, farewell: I shall never see thee more."



people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. Her brother, lord James, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, secretary of state, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. By the vigour of these men's measures she endeavoured to establish order and justice in a country divided by public factions and private feuds; and that fierce, untractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, seemed, for a time, to submit peaceably to her gentle and prudent administration. But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and though she published soon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended, that if she had here met with a refusal, she would instantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that small indulgence. The cry was, "Shall we suffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?" It was asserted in the pulpit, "That one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade the kingdom;" lord Lindesey, and the gentlemen of life, exclaimed, "That the idolator should die the death;" such was their expression.

Soon after her arrival she dined in the castle of Edinburgh, and it was there contrived, that a boy, six years of age, should be let down from the roof, and should present her with a Bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Left she should be at a loss to understand this insult on her as a papist, all the decorations expressed the burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other punishments inflicted by God upon idolatry. But the influence of the people was inconsiderable in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess\*. The ringleader in these insults on majesty was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though she endeavoured, by great condescension, to win his favour, all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promised him access to her whenever he demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people: but he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the Gospel of Truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation†. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition, as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as to tell the queen, that he would submit to her, in the same manner as Paul did to Nero‡; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, though king Ahab was present.

Phineas," added he, "was no magistrate; yet feared he not to strike Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, Madam, your grace may see, that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God§." Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: the title of it is, "The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women." He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and his conduct indicated, that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the softer sex: the whole life of Mary was, from the demeanor of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow. This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to inform us, that he once treated her with such severity, that she lost all command of temper, and dissolved in tears before him: yet so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct||. The pulpits had become mere scenes of railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendants\*\*. On account of the absurd severity of these reformers, Mary had reason to regret her leaving France; and soon after her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, took leave of her, and departed for that country.

During the queen's absence some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into her chapel, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial, but Knox wrote circular letters to the most considerable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. Hereupon Knox was summoned before the council to answer for his offence; and he scrupled not to tell the queen, that the pestilent papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a man-slayer from the beginning. Knox, however, notwithstanding his insolent behaviour was acquitted. We have related the above incidents at greater length than the necessity of our subject may seem to require: but even trivial circumstances, which shew the manners of the age, are often more instructive, as well as entertaining, than the great transactions of wars and negotiations, which are nearly similar in all periods and in all countries.

The reformed clergy in Scotland had, at that time, a natural reason for their ill-humour; namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at first laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any provision for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their possessions. The secular clergy of the catholic communion, though they lost all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, still held some of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themselves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The new teachers had hitherto subsisted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious sentiments, this establishment was regarded as very scanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal settlement to the preachers, and though almost every thing in the king-

\* The assembly of the church framed an address, in which, after telling her, that her mass was a bastard service of God, a fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which reigned in the realm; they expressed their hopes, that she would before this time have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity.

They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people.

† Knox, p. 310.

§ Ibid. p. 326.

\*\* Ibid. p. 332.

‡ Ibid. p. 288.

|| Ibid. p. 332, 333.



dom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. The fanatical spirit which they indulged, and their industry in decrying the principles and practices of the Romish communion, which placed such merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very sensible obstacle to their acquisitions. The convention, however, passed a vote, by which they divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty-one shares: they assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors: of the remaining seven they granted three to the crown; and if that were found to answer the public expences, they bestowed the overplus on the reformed ministers. The queen was empowered to levy all the seven; and it was ordained, that she should afterwards pay to the clergy what should be judged sufficient for their maintenance. The necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the small affection which Mary bore to the protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, betook themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, morose manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet mysterious cant; and though the liberality of subsequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in some degree those bad habits; it must be confessed, that, while many other advantages attend the presbyterian government, these inconveniencies are not easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical policy.

The queen of Scots, destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by former connections and services, had acquired great authority over all these ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lidington was sent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation be declared successor to the crown. The queen replied, "That Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: that though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her partizans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: that while affairs were on this footing, while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to the crown, by declaring her the successor: that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connection was still continued, on the part of Mary: that though she was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: that it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views

of futurity, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: that she knew the inconstant nature of the people; she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant that the same party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did also imagine that the title of that princess was superior to his own: that for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws or by the right of blood, to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it: and that Mary, if her title were really preferable, a point which, for her own part, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretensions." These views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: but that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to that issue, that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and, though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

Elizabeth observed that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the native spirit of her own subjects; and, instead of giving Scotland, for the present, any inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places, engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation, and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was styled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas\*. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater care and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious



and well-concerted projects \*. A singular circumstance in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor to the crown; but seems also to have resolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretension to the succession should ever have any heirs or successors †.

About this time there happened some other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and descended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Fortescue, who had married a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole, duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never meant to execute those projects during the queen's life-time: they had such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but received a pardon from the queen.

The diversity of opinions in religious matters had created great dissensions among the princes and potentates of Europe; and these dissensions appeared to break out more fully in the year 1562. The two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, were possessed of nearly equal force, and therefore were naturally antagonists: England, from its power and situation, was entitled to support its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England: Philip found an advantage in supporting the established government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting the protestant cause.

The queen-regent of France, when reinstated in authority by the death of her son, Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious; and, balancing the catholics with the Hugonots, the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. The

constable Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himself to the duke of Guise. The king of Navarre, from his inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party; and Catharine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection. An edict had been published, granting a toleration to the protestants; but the interested violence of the duke of Guise, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Condé, Coligny, Anselot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person; and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party; fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and women themselves sacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valour. Wherever the Hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire: where success attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony: and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itself, the seat of law and justice, instead of employing its authority to compose these fatal quarrels, published an edict, by which it put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to massacre the Hugonots: and it was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

Philip alarmed at the progress which the Hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith,

\* Notwithstanding Elizabeth's public declarations in favour of a single life, few believed that she would persevere for ever in that resolution. The arch-duke Charles, second son to the emperor, as well as Casimir, son of the palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince professed the reformed religion, he thought himself on that account better entitled to succeed in his addresses. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holstein, were encouraged by the same views, to become suitors: and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. The earl of Arundel, descended from an ancient and noble family, as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also Sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was his great favour ascribed to some violent affection, which could thus seduce the judgement of this penetrating princess; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above so many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she would the better attach them to her interests, if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions. It is also probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though she was determined in her own mind never to share her power with any man, she was not displeased with the courtship, solicitation, and

professions of love, which the desire of acquiring so valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

† If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland, was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the house of Suffolk, and the lady Catharine Grey, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, she made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son of the protector; and her husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his misdemeanor. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's consent, was entirely suitable to both parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here: she issued a commission to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse, and another child appeared to be the fruit of this commerce. This was a fresh source of vexation to the queen, who made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds to be set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. Haynes, vol. 1. p. 369, 378, 396. Camden, p. 389. Heylin, p. 154. Hume, ch. xxxviii.



and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with some supply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to dispatch the vidame of Chartres and Brignemont to London, in order to crave the assistance of Elizabeth. Most of the province of Normandy was possessed by the Hugonots: and Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English, on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns. Elizabeth, beside supporting the protestants, and opposing the progress of the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this proposal. When she concluded the peace at Chateau-Cambresis, she foresaw that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. Considerable sums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leases had been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais should never be restored to the English. The queen therefore wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favourite of the nation. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwic, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place. It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their success of Rouen, would immediately have formed the siege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom soon diverted their attention to another enterprize. An-

delot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable body of protestants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the seat of the Hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris during some time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themselves by the farther assistance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth. The catholics, commanded by the constable, and under him by the duke of Guise, followed on their rear; and, on overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The engagement was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides; and the action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of his army, and inspiring his own unconquerable courage and constancy in every breath, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

The queen had emptied her coffers by the expences incurred by assisting the French Hugonots; and, in order to obtain a supply, she summoned a parliament on the 12th of January, 1563\*.

The commons, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their ancestors had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey: or if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order which took place in the inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of the usual tranquillity, as well as of the felicity of that kingdom †.

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\* A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty of which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw, that though it might be possible at the present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor.

† This subject, though interesting to the nation, was not agreeable to the queen; and she was sensible that difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal; because that princess was commonly allowed to possess the right of blood; and the exclusion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would lose all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new settlement, and restored the Scottish line to its place in the succession. But she dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, by this declaration. She was sensible that every heir was, in some degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the present possession of the crown, and who had already advanced in a very open manner, these dangerous pretensions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connections with the house of Guise, not to

mention the force and situation of Scotland, was well known to her; and she had no security that this princess, if fortified by a sure prospect of succession, would not revive claims which she could never yet be prevailed on to relinquish. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous protestants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people. The republican part of the constitution had not yet acquired such an ascendant as to control, in any degree, the idea of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was still disputed, though founded on the utmost authority which a parliament could confer; who could be assured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had still prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had even shewn itself disposed rather to change its faith than the order of succession. Even many protestants declared themselves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance; and nothing would occasion more general disgust, than to see the queen, openly and without reserve, take part against it. The Scottish princess also, finding herself injured in so sensible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domestic friends, the partisans of her present title and of her eventual succession, would soon bring matters to extremities against the present establishment. The queen, weighing all these inconveniences, which were great



The most remarkable law passed this session, was that which bore the title of Assurance of the Queen's royal Power over all states and subjects within her dominions\*. There was likewise another point, in which the parliament, this session, shewed more the goodness of their intention, than the soundness of their judgement. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder: but at the same time they enacted a statute, which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: it was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years.

In the interim the French factions, enflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garrison of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. The duke of Guise, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots; and had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. He had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking; when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whose zeal led him to attempt that criminal enterprize. The death of this gallant prince was a sensible loss to the catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, still supported the interests of the family, the danger of their progress appeared not so eminent either to Elizabeth or to the French protestants. The union therefore, between these allies which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be less intimate; and the leaders of the Hugonots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling a peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themselves from captivity, they soon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent led her to embrace any plausible terms; and, in spite of the protestations of the admiral, whose articles of agreement were finally settled between the parties, a toleration, under some restrictions, was granted anew to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment of arrears due to the German troops, they were sent home.

According to the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé, it had been stipulated, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French protestants. They only

comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise that, on the relinquishing Havre, her charges, and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French. The earl of Warwick, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprize; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious still to preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon the allies. But the plague creeping in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, (for they were but ill supplied with provisions,) it made such ravages, that sometimes a hundred men a-day died of it, and there remained not at last fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate on the 28th of July, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men; and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London, about twenty thousand persons died of it in one year †.

Elizabeth was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was agreed, that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for two hundred thousand crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

Peace, however, still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary ‡. The two queens had agreed

great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining still an ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose that the people should run the hazard of contingent events, than that she herself should visibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at best, would not bestow entire security on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the applications of the commons; and when the house, at the end of the session, desired, by the mouth of their speaker, farther satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; and she added, that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that she would be contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security. Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal, p. 75.

\* By this act all persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also all who were advanced to any

degree, either in the universities or in common law; all school-masters, officers in court, or members of parliament: and the penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture.

† This year the council of Trent was dissolved, which had sitten from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited anew the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the protestants rejected them. The religious controversies were too far advanced to expect that any conviction would result from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in any age truly learned and inquisitive; and as the history of it has been written with great penetration and judgement, it has tended very much to expose clerical usurpations and intrigues, and may serve as a specimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to see another general council, till the decay of learning and the progress of ignorance shall again fit mankind for these great impostures.

‡ These princesses made profession of the most entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and



agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York; in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of the proper method for settling the succession of England: but as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate subject, she employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, she said, would detain her in London; and she delayed till next year the intended interview. Mary's close connections with the house of Guise, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom she had been early educated and constantly protected, was the ground of just and unfurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's son; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, and the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might easily be freed by a dispensation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who would strengthen their interests, or give inquietude and disturbance to Elizabeth. Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their schemes, and was particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest and lay most exposed. As she believed that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one most likely to have place, she used every expedient to prevent it; and besides remonstrating against it to Mary herself, she endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that pursuit, by giving him some hopes of success in his pretension to herself, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing should satisfy her but the espousing some English nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and she offered on this condition to have her title examined, and to declare her successor to the crown. After keeping the matter in these general terms during a twelvemonth, she at last named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person whom she wished Mary would choose.

Elizabeth's powerful favourite, the earl of Leicester possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; a handsome person, a polite address, an insinuating behaviour; and by means of these accomplishments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honour, without generosity, without humanity; and atoned not for these bad qualities, by such abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high trust and confidence, with which she always honoured him. Her constant and declared attachment to him, had naturally emboldened him to aspire to her bed; and in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heiress of one Robesart. The proposal of espousing Mary, was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him lose the friendship of Mary from the temerity of his

pretensions, and that of Elizabeth from jealousy of his attachments to another woman. The queen herself had not any intention of effecting this marriage; but as she was desirous that the queen of Scots should never have any husband, she named a man, who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out to her rival. The duplicity and imperious behaviour of Elizabeth, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seemingly amiable correspondence between the two queens was interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots dispatched Sir James Melvil to London; who succeeded so well, that he threw that artful princess entirely off her guard; and made her discover the bottom of her heart, full of all those levities and follies and ideas of rivalry, which possess the youngest and most frivolous of her sex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in setting off the beauties of the shape and person. The queen said, that she had dresses of all countries; and she took care thenceforth to meet the ambassador every day apparelled in a different habit: sometimes she was dressed in the English garb, sometimes in the French, sometimes in the Italian; and she asked him, which of them became her most? He answered the Italian; a reply that he knew would be agreeable to her, because that mode showed to advantage her flowing locks, which he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, she fancied to be the finest in the world. She desired to know of him what was reputed the best colour of hair: she asked whether his queen or she had the finest hair: she even enquired which of them he esteemed the fairest person: a very delicate question, and which he prudently eluded, by saying, that her majesty was the fairest person in England, and his mistress in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was tallest: he replied his queen: then is she too tall, said Elizabeth: for I myself am of a just stature. Having learned from him, that his mistress sometimes recreated herself by playing on the harpsichord, an instrument on which she herself excelled, she gave orders to lord Hunsdon, that he should lead the ambassador, as it were casually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if ravished with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, she pretended to be displeased with his intrusion; but still took care to ask him, whether he thought Mary or her the best performer on that instrument? From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, assure his mistress, that she had no reason ever to expect any cordial friendship from Elizabeth, and that all her professions of amity were full of falsehood and dissimulation. After two years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary's subjects and counsellors, and probably herself, began to think it full time that some marriage were concluded; and lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox\*, was the person in whom most men's opinions and wishes centered. Elizabeth was well informed of these intentions; and was secretly not dis-

had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Hales, who had published a book against Mary's title; and as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and recover her favour.

\* He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly resided since he had been banished by the prevailing

power of the house of Hamilton: and as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely person, tall, and delicately shaped, it was hoped that he might soon render himself agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was allied by his father to a branch of the same family with herself; and would in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart; he was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and those who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give him the preference.



pleased with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, she secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his attainder, and to restore him to his honours and fortune. And when her request was complied with, she took care, in order to preserve the friendship of the Hamiltons and her other partisans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary. Hearing that the negociation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, she gave that nobleman permission, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland, but no sooner did she learn that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and person, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, in 1564, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure, she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury.

The queen of Scot's marriage had kindled afresh the zeal of the reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the established church, he could not by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to insult him to his face; and Knox scrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, "that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was want to commit the rule over them to boys and women." The populace of Edinburgh, instigated by such doctrines, began to meet and to associate themselves against the government. But what threatened more immediate danger to Mary's authority, were the discontents which prevailed among some of the principal nobility.

The restoration of the family of Lenox, greatly displeased the duke of Chatelrault, who had hopes of ascending the throne of Scotland, but he now feared that his rival would set him aside. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminished by the interest of Lenox and his son; and began to apprehend the revocation of some considerable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were instigated by like motives; and as these were the persons who had most zealously promoted the reformation, they were disgusted to find that the queen's favour was entirely ingrossed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwell, Athol, Ruthland, and Huntley, men who were esteemed either lukewarm in religious controversy, or inclined to the catholic party\*.

As soon as Mary was informed of the discontents of the people, and of the meeting at Stirling, she summoned the nobles who were concerned in the dissention to appear in court, in order to answer for their conduct, and having levied some forces to execute the laws, she obliged the rebels to leave the Low Countries, and take shelter in Argyleshire. That she might more effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paisley, in the neighbourhood, with about a thousand horse; and passing the

queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the seditious preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enlist, and to receive wages for the defence of God's glory. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved: her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: and the interested view of the malcontent lords were so well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: the rebels were obliged to retire into the south; and being pursued by eighteen thousand men, they were obliged to take shelter in England.

Elizabeth, being disappointed in her expectations, disavowed all connections with the Scottish malcontents, and declared, that she had never given them any promise of assistance. She even carried farther her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilivinning, agent for Chatelrault; and she seduced them, by secret assurance of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had no wise contributed to their insurrection. No sooner had she extorted this confession from them, than she chased them from her presence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their detestable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and assured them, that as she had hitherto given them no encouragement, so should they never thenceforth receive from her any assistance or protection. Throgmorton alone, whose honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprise of the Scottish rebels; and being apprised of the usual character of Elizabeth, he obtained an order of council to authorise the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them. The banished lords, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and after some solicitation and some profession of repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon on condition that he should retire into France. Mary was more implacable against the earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom she threw the blame of the enterprise; but as their friends continually applied to her, she determined to restore them to favour. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambassador from France, and brought advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, in 1565, by no means to pardon those protestant leaders, who had been engaged in the rebellion.

The two opposite religions, in France as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with these acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the Hugonots, as had been foreseen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare their way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where he was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these too splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most

\* The same ground of discontent, which, in other courts, is the source of intrigue, faction, and opposition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of assassination, or of rebellion; and besides mutual accusations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up, the malcontent lords, as soon as they saw the queen's marriage entirely resolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms against their sovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the

security of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for assistance and protection. That princess, for publishing the expressions of her displeasure against the marriage, had secretly ordered her ambassadors Randolph and Throgmorton, to give, in her name, some promises of support to the malcontents; and had even sent them a supply of ten thousand pounds, to enable them to begin an insurrection.



bloody, and most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought on in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the protestants by fire and sword was consented to by Philip and Catharine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the Hugonots. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forego this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics; and she proposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation, which she called address, to lead the protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword till they were totally disabled from resistance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was the chief author of this barbarous association against the reformers; and having connected hopes of success with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care that her measures should correspond to those violent counsels which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh, in 1566, for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

The matrimonial connection of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley, was so natural, and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which no wise corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his resolutions; insolent, yet credulous and easily governed by flatterers; he was destitute of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, says Hume, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: she had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; she intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown: but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confer upon him. His resentment against this prudent conduct served but the more to increase her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglect, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour. There was in the court, one David

Rizzio\*, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and retainers. A scheme also thought to be formed for revoking some exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; even the nobility who had seized the ecclesiastical benefices began to think themselves less secure in the possession of them. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by these considerations; and still more by a rumour spread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to bestow upon a mean and upstart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country. So indiscreet had this princess been in her kindness to Rizzio, that even that strange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton insinuating himself into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him, that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the base stranger to the fate which he had so well merited; and which was so passionately desired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox concurred in the same advice; and the lords Ruthven and Lindesey, being consulted, offered their assistance in the enterprise; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averse to the design. But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and advancement of religion, and promised to protect them against every consequence which might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio. All these measures being concerted, a messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country. This design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private, on the 9th of March, and had at table the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, with Rizzio, and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reason of their rude intrusion. They told her, that they intended no violence against her person; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress, and seizing her by the waist, called aloud to her for protection; while she interposed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed

\* David Rizzio was a Piedmontese, of mean birth, son of a teacher of music, himself a musician; and finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambassador, whom the duke of Savoy sent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, some time after her arrival. He possessed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and as that princess found him useful to complete her band of music, she retained him in her service after the departure of his master. Her secretary for French dispatches having, some time after, incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunity of approaching her person and insinuating himself into her favour. He was shrewd and sensible, as well as aspiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made so good use of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded as the chief confidant, and even minister of the queen. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; all suitors were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery; and the man, insolent from his new exaltation, as

well as rapacious in his acquisitions, soon drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom. He had at first employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendship seemed to be established between them: but on the subsequent change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Henry's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouse in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable, if not absurd, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which she honoured him. The rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to spread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was universally believed to be a pensionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all schemes against the protestants, any story, to his and Mary's disadvantage, received an easy credit among the zealots of that communion.



upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which stood in their way, increased the horror and confusion of the scene. Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, plunged it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and hurried into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said, "She would weep no more, she would now think of revenge." The insult, indeed, upon her person; the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was exposed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries so atrocious and so complicated, that they scarcely left room for pardon, even from the greatest lenity and mercy. The assassins, apprehensive of Mary's resentment, detained her prisoner in the palace; and the king dismissed all who seemed willing to attempt her rescue. Murray and the banished lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whose anger was much engrossed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and she received her brother with tenderness and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices also in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but she delayed compliance, and told them, "That so long as she was detained in custody; and was surrounded by guards, any deed, which she should sign, would have no validity." Meanwhile, she had gained the confidence of her husband, by her persuasion and caresses; and no sooner were the guards withdrawn, than she engaged him to escape with her in the night-time, and take shelter in Dunbar. Many of her subjects here offered her their services; and Mary, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them liberty to return into their own country. The vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her highest resentment\*. As if she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Mar's; and when Henry followed her thither, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the strongest proofs of displeasure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased, that his mean equipage and small train of attendants should draw on him the contempt of the populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son, on the 19th of June; and as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, she immediately dispatched Sir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Some time after Elizabeth dispatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinsman George Cary, son of lord Hunsdon, in order to officiate at the baptism of the young prince; and she sent by them some magnificent presents to her sister.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partisans in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession. These humours broke out with great vehemence in a new session of parliament, held after six prorogations on the 30th of September. The house of

peers, which had hitherto forbore to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the house of commons soon after imitated the zeal of the lords: Molineux opened the matter in the lower house, and proposed that the question of the succession and that of supply should go hand in hand; as if it were intended to constrain the queen to a compliance with the request of her parliament. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the house, that he had heard the queen positively affirm, that, for the good of her people, she was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil, and Sir Francis Knollys, gave their testimony to the same purpose; as did also Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the household. Elizabeth's ambitious and masculine character was so well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was considered merely as an artifice, by which she endeavoured to retract that positive declaration, which she had made in the beginning of her reign, "That she meant to live and die a virgin." The ministers, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy, than only to engage the house, for the sake of decency, to join the question of the queen's marriage with that of a settlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earnestness in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when express orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in the matter. Cecil told them, that she pledged to the house the word of a queen for her sincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a successor would be attended with great danger to her person; that she herself had had experience, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men were commonly disposed to make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that she was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the decision of that important question. The house was not satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the subject. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house. Some even ventured to violate that profound respect which had hitherto been preserved to the queen; and they affirmed, that she was bound in duty not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her whole life, but also to pay regard to their future security, by fixing a successor; that, by an opposite conduct, she shewed herself the stepmother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem desirous, that England should no longer subsist than she should enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever stood in fear of their successors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every sovereign, who, laying aside all artifice or bye-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his whole trust in that honourable and sure defence. The queen, hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, she bade him inform the house, that if any member remained still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reasons. As the members shewed a disposition, notwithstanding these peremptory orders, still to proceed upon the question, Elizabeth thought proper, by a message, to revoke them, and to allow the house liberty of debate. They were so mollified by this condescension, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmness and temper; and they even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments, of a subsidy and a

\* She engaged him to disown all connections with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publish a proclamation containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world; and having thus made him expose himself to

universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable to him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation.



fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. On the 2d of January, 1567, the queen dissolved the parliament, and told them, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice, that, under the plausible pretences of marriage and succession, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that she reaped this advantage from their attempts, that she could distinguish her friends from her enemies. "But do you think," added she, "that I am unmindful of your future security, or will be negligent in settling the succession? That is the chief object of my concern, as I know myself to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend, that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No: it was never my meaning; I only intended to stop you before you approached the precipice: all things have their time; and though you may be blessed with a sovereign more wise or more learned than I, yet I assure you, that no one will ever rule over you, who shall be more careful of your safety. And therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience, so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude, that, notwithstanding the disgusts I have received, (for I mean not to part with you in anger,) the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their prince's good graces."

Elizabeth had received the subsidy without any condition; but she thought proper, on her refusal to settle the succession, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and she said, "That money in her subjects' purses was as good to her as in her own exchequer." But though the queen was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and besides the catholics, many of whom kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command, the court itself of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partizans. The duke of Norfolk; the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, and Northumberland; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the ne-

cessity of declaring her the successor. None but the more zealous protestants adhered either to the countess of Hertford, or to her aunt Eleanor, countess of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former seemed liable to some objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that side, with the prospect of new disputes concerning the succession. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect. But these prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and ruin\*.

The news of the murder of Darnley reaching the earl of Lenox, who lived at a distance from court, in poverty and contempt, roused the indignation of that nobleman, who, enraged at the destruction of his son, wrote to the queen, imploring speedy justice against the assassins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour, his brother; David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's household; all of them persons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh. Mary took his demand of speedy justice in a very literal sense; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, she sent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge against Bothwell. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other persons accused by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty; Bothwell himself was continually surrounded with armed men; took his place in council; lived during some time in the house with Mary; and seemed to possess all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the castle of Edinburgh, a place of great consequence in this critical time, was entrusted to him, and under him, to his creature, Sir James Balfour, who had himself been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder. Lenox who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all these circumstances; and reflecting on the small train which attended him, he began to entertain very just apprehensions from the power, insolence, and temerity of

\* The earl of Bothwell was of a considerable family and power in Scotland; and, though not distinguished by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himself to beggary by his profuse expences; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate counsels and enterprises. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though the frequency of these accusations on all sides diminish somewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove sufficiently the prevalence of that detestable practice in Scotland, and may in that view serve to render such rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increase of her hatred towards her husband. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose. Some of the most considerable nobility, on the other hand, observing her rooted aversion to him, had proposed some expedients for a divorce; and though Mary is said to have spoken honourably on the occasion, and to have embraced the proposal no farther than it should be found consistent with her own honour and her son's legitimacy, men were inclined to believe, that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpose, was the real cause of laying aside all farther thoughts of it. So far were the suspicions against her carried, that when Henry, discouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glasgow, an illness of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized immediately on his arrival in that place, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which it was pretended, she had administered to him. The queen, however, took a journey to Glasgow on purpose to visit him during his sickness, and it is said, that she there behaved to-

wards him with great tenderness, that she brought him along with her, and that she appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more suitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally noxious, and not distrusting this sudden reconciliation, put himself implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-house; but as the situation of the place was low, and the noise and bustle of a court, might disturb him in his present infirm state of health, these reasons were assigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a solitary house, at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him; and she lay some nights in a room below his; but on the 9th of February, she told him, that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noise, and was still more astonished, when it was discovered that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contusion, or violence appeared upon it. No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the earl of Bothwell as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments; and all men remained in silence and mute astonishment. Voices, however, were heard in the streets during the darkness of night, proclaiming Bothwell and even Mary herself to be murderers of the king; bills were secretly fixed on the walls to the same purpose; offers were made, that, upon giving proper securities, his guilt should be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would discover the author of that villainy, greater vigilance was employed in searching out the spreaders of the libels and reports against Bothwell and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's assassination, or detecting the regicides. See Melvil. Anderson. Keith.



his enemy. He wrote to Mary, desiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which she bore to her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such extreme moment. No regard was paid to his application: the jury was inclosed, of which the earl of Caithness was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreseeing this precipitation, had ordered Cunningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and protest, in his name, against the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict. The verdict was such as it behoved them to give, where neither accuser nor witness appeared; and Bothwel was absolved from the king's murder on the 12th of April\*. The jury, however, apprehensive that their verdict would give great scandal, and perhaps expose them afterwards to some danger, entered a protest, in which they represented the necessity of their proceedings.

Shortly after Mary went to Stirling to pay a visit to her son; and Bothwel assembled a body of eight hundred horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and having way-laid her on her return, he seized her person near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says not, that he saw any signs of reluctance or constraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her†. A woman, indeed, of that spirit and resolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not usually, on these occasions, give such marks of opposition to real violence, as can appear anywise doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, sent her a private message; in which they told her, that if in reality, she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her. Her answer was, "That she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since her arrival had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel‡." No one gave himself thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation. A few days after, a pardon was given to Bothwel. In this deed he received a pardon for the violence committed on the

queen's person; and for all other crimes: a clause, by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared scandalous to make openly any mention. There still, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not easy to foresee how the queen and Bothwel, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured the subscription of the nobility, recommending him as a husband to the queen, and who had acted this seeming violence on her person, in order to force her consent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, sister to the earl of Huntley. But persons blinded by passion, and infatuated with crimes, soon shake off all appearances of decency. A suit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this suit was opened at the same instant in two different, or rather opposite courts; in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrews, which was popish, and governed itself by the common law; and in the new consistorial or commissariot court, which was protestant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was so calculated as to suit the principles which there prevailed: in the archbishop's court, the pretence of consanguinity was employed, because Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commissariot court, the accusation of adultery was made use of against him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel was the person who sued in the former; his wife in the latter: and the suits in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmost precipitation; and a sentence of divorce was pronounced in four days. The divorce being obtained, it was thought proper that Mary should be conducted to Edinburgh, and should there appear before the courts of judicature, and acknowledge herself restored to freedom. Orders were then given to publish in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney; (for that was the title which he now bore:) and Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpose, who positively refused§. The marriage, however, was, on the 15th of May, solemn-

\* Two days after this extraordinary transaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwel was attended with such circumstances as strongly confirmed, rather than diminished, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on the first meeting of the national assembly. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made against those who set up defamatory bills: but no notice was taken of the king's murder. The favour which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another transaction, which ensued immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament. A bond or association was framed; in which the subscribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by single combat, oblige themselves, in case any person should afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power against such calumniators. After this promise, which implied no great assurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the subscribers mentioned the necessity of the queen's marriage, in order to support the government; and they recommended Bothwel, on the 14th of April, to her as a husband. This paper was subscribed by all the considerable nobility there present.

† Melvil, p. 80.

‡ Spotswood, p. 202.

§ This clergyman, not content with having refused compliance, publicly in his sermons condemned the marriage; and exhorted all who had access to the queen, to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to answer for this liberty, he showed a courage, which might cover all the nobles with shame, on account of their tameness and servility. He said, that by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by collusion, as appeared by the

precipitation of the sentence, and the sudden conclusion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the suspicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was present, no longer to persevere in his present criminal enterprises; and turning his discourse to the other counsellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a measure which would load her with eternal infamy and dishonour. Not satisfied even with this admonition, he took the first opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed to them his fears, that, notwithstanding all remonstrances, their sovereign was still obstinately bent on her fatal purpose. "For ever, himself," he said, "he had already discharged his conscience, and yet again would take Heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested that marriage, as scandalous and hateful in the sight of mankind: but since the great, as he perceived, either by their flattery or silence, gave countenance to the measure, he besought the faithful to pray frequently to the Almighty, that a resolution, taken contrary to all law, reason, and good conscience, might, by the divine blessing, be turned to the comfort and benefit of the church and kingdom." These speeches offended the court extremely; and Craig was anew summoned before the council, to answer for his temerity in thus passing the bound of his commission. But he told them, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of these standards, it would appear infamous and dishonourable, and would be so esteemed by the whole world. The council were so overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they dismissed him without farther censure or punishment. Spotswood, p. 203. Anderson, vol. 11. p. 250.



nized by the bishop of Orkney, a protestant, who was afterwards deposed by the church for this scandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: they had, most of them, either from shame or fear, retired to their own houses. The French ambassador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant on the house of Guise, to countenance the marriage by his presence. Elizabeth remonstrated, by friendly letters and messages against the marriage: the court of France made little opposition; but Mary, though on all other occasions she was extremely obsequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion. Thus did Mary confirm the idea which was entertained by the people respecting her concurrence in the murder of her husband; and thus, did she draw upon herself and her kingdom the odium of Europe.

Soon after the marriage, Bothwel, with the queen's consent, as it is pretended, made some attempts to get the young prince into his power. As this step excited the most serious attention, the principal nobility, even many of those who had formerly been constrained to sign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers. The earl of Athol himself, a known catholic, was the first author of this confederacy: the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencairne; the lords Boyd, Lindsey, Hume, Temple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and secretary Lidington, entered zealously into it. The earl of Murray, foreseeing such turbulent times; and being desirous to keep free of these dangerous factions, had, some time before, desired and obtained Mary's permission to retire into France. Lord Hume was first in arms; and, leading a body of eight thousand horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel in the castle of Borthwic. They found means to make their escape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were assembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking measures to effect their purpose. Bothwel upon hearing that the associated lords were fallen into distress, imprudently took the field on the 15th of June, and advanced towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary soon became sensible that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in the quarrel. After some bravadoes of Bothwel, where he discovered very little courage, she saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes; and even held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourse to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships, set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy. He was pursued thither by Grange, and his ship was taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for the crime. Bothwel himself escaped in a boat, and found means to get a passage to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after. Mary now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. It is pretended, that she behaved with a spirit very little suitable to her condition, and avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel. The malcontents, for their own safety, thought themselves obliged to proceed with rigour against her; and they sent her next day under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that

name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost severity and harshness.

Elizabeth was made acquainted with all these incidents, and seemed touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen. She therefore resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and gave him instructions which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to her, and of that generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, "that the late conduct of that princess, so enormous, and in every respect so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and though she felt the movements of pity towards her, she had once determined never to interpose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was totally desperate, and honour irretrievable: that she was well assured that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathy, and had made her adopt measures more favourable to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen: that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: that she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head, and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: that after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for that purpose: and that, besides the security, which would attend his removal from a scene of faction and convulsions, there were many other beneficial consequences, which it was easily to foresee as the result of his education in that country\*." The remonstrances which Throgmorton was instructed to make to the associated lords, were entirely conformable to these sentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, "That, whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct, any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: that it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of their prince; and the only arms which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels, and representations: that if these expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy: that she inculcated not this doctrine, because she herself was interested in its observance; but because it was universally received in all well-governed states, and was essential to the preservation of civil society: that she required them to restore their queen to liberty; and promised, in that case, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for punishing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince; and that if the services, which she had lately rendered the Scottish nation, in protecting them from foreign usurpation, were duly considered by them, they would repose confidence in her good offices, and would esteem themselves



themselves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her \*." Elizabeth, besides these remonstrances, sent, by Throgmorton, some articles of acquittances, sent, by Throgmorton, some articles of accommodation, which he was to propose to both parties, as expedients for the settlement of public affairs; and though these articles contained some important restraints on the sovereign power, they were principally calculated for Mary's advantage, and were sufficiently indulgent to her. The associated lords, who determined to proceed with greater severity, were apprehensive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being sensible that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princess, they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to her. There were four different schemes proposed in Scotland for the treatment of the captive queen †.

There arose several who pretended to have an interest in the young prince after the intended deposition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: the duke of Chatelrault, who was absent in France, had pretensions as next heir to the crown; but the greatest number of the associated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they had entire trust, and who possessed the confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All measures being therefore concerted, three instruments were sent to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindsey and Sir Robert Melvil; by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to name a council, which should administer the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, lying justly under apprehensions of her life, and believing that no deed which she executed during her captivity could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and she took not the trouble of inspecting any one of them. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was crowned at Stirling, on the 29th of July, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pretensions in favour of the people's power were countenanced in this ceremony; and a coin was soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, "*Pro me; si merear, in me:*" i. e. "*For me; if I deserve it, against me.*" Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots. The earl of Murray soon after arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and treated her in so severe a manner, that she entirely alienated her affection from him. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament on the 15th of December; and that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed Sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: he constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates; and he demolished that fortress. But

though every thing thus bore a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great discontents: few considerable men of the nation seemed willing to support Mary, so long as Bothwell was present; but the removal of that noxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being disappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the same sentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the associators, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: and besides their being moved by some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensity to the catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either detested Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined to compassionate her present situation, and lamented that a person, possessed of so many amiable accomplishments, joined to such high dignity, should be treated with such extreme severity ‡. Animated by these motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of that princess. While these humours were in fermentation, Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting her escape; and she engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to assist her in that enterprise. She even went so far as to give him hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwell should be dissolved on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat on the 2d of May, 1568, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton, and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglinton, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry. And in a few days an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard.

No sooner was Elizabeth informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued; and with that view she proposed to the court of France, that the French court as well as the English should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to their injured sovereign. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland, to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces, to Mary; but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland.

\* Keith, p. 414, 415, 429.

† One, that she should be restored to her authority under very strict limitations: the second, that she should be obliged to resign her crown to the prince, be banished the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with assurances from the sovereign, in whose dominions she should reside, that she should make no attempts to the disturbance of the established government: the third, that she should be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment: the fourth was still more severe, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital punishment should be inflicted upon her. Throgmorton supported the mildest proposal; but

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though he promised his mistress's guarantee for the performance of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal, and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found that, excepting secretary Liddington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Testament, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign.

‡ Buchanan, lib. xviii. c. 53.



But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haste to assemble forces; and, notwithstanding his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her on the 15th of the same month. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent, and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came with a few attendants, to the borders of England. Here she deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom: she had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour, and she was not, besides, provided with a vessel, which could safely convey her thither: the generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and assistance, from that quarter; and therefore she embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection.

Elizabeth was now obliged to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy, she was engaged by that prudent minister to weigh anew all the considerations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, "that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere in their connection with Elizabeth: that though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: that Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was in secret entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more would she implicitly comply with their views when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her sole resource and security: that her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: that it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprise, if undertaken, should be effected by English forces alone, and that full securities should beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: that above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should suddenly take the resolution of flying into France; and should attempt, by foreign force, to recover possession of her authority. That if she were once abroad, in the hands of enterprising catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as easy as that on Scotland; and the only method, she must imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which she would deem herself equally intitled: that the detention of Mary was requisite, whether the power of England

were to be employed in her favour, or against her: that nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble principle could never be consulted in such delicate circumstances as those in which the queen was at present placed; where her own safety and the interests of her people were intimately concerned in every resolution which she embraced: that Mary's imprudence had been so great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the insurrection of her subjects, after such provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent against other princes: that it was first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain, in a regular and satisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects: that as no glory could surpass that of defending oppressed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of such dishonour would extend itself to all who countenanced or supported it: and that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her, which policy should dictate, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprise, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious." Agreeably to these views, Elizabeth resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious, manner with the queen of Scots; and she immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess. Soon after, she dispatched to her lord Scrope himself, warden of the marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and, after expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with: till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not, without dishonour, shew her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. Two days after she sent lord Herreis to London with a letter to the same purpose. This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: she immediately dispatched Middlemore to the regent of Scotland, requiring him both to desist from the farther prosecution of his queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was resolved rather to digest the affront, than provoke Elizabeth by a refusal. Lord Herreis now perceived, that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions: he endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present aid from England, or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. The queen of Scots discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persevere in the agreement to which she at first consented. But, allured by the plausible professions of Elizabeth, she agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners, before commissioners appointed by Elizabeth.

During the above transactions, lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles, who resided with Mary at Carlisle, had leisure to study her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, resolute in her



her purpose, and active in her enterprizes, she aspired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. She declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourse to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance against her persecutors. But the court of England, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her prisoner, and were determined to watch her with greater vigilance on account of these declarations. As Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, they removed her to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire: and the issue of the controversy between her and the Scottish nation was regarded as a subject more momentous to Elizabeth's security and interests, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

In the beginning of October the commissioners were appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause. They were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Herreis, Levingstone, and Boyde, with three persons more, appeared as commissioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent; the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindesey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commissioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and historian, with some others, were named as their assistants. Mary's commissioners, before they gave in their complaints against her enemies in Scotland, entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause should no wise affect the dependence of her crown, or be construed as a mark of subordination to England: the English commissioners received this protest, but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which she had suffered since her marriage with Bothwel: that her subjects had taken arms against her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when she put herself into their hands, they had committed her to close custody, in Lochleven; had placed her son, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms against her deliverance from prison; had rejected all her proposals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the safety of her person, to take shelter in England. The earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a summary account of the late transactions: that the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the person of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired such influence over her as to gain her consent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transaction, the dishonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppose his criminal enterprizes; that after Mary, in order to save him, had thrown herself into their hands, she still discovered such a violent attachment to him, that they found it necessary, for their own and the public safety, to confine her person, during a season, till Bothwel and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crimes; and that, during this confinement, she had voluntarily, without compulsion or violence, merely from disgust at the inquietude and vexations attending power, resigned her crown to her only

son, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority. The queen's answer to this apology was obvious: that she did not know, and never could suspect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her husband, was the murderer of the king; that she ever was, and still continues, desirous that if he be guilty he may be brought to condign punishment; that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never be of any consequence.

Murray did not bring forward against the queen any thing which might seem to impress the nation with an idea of her guilt: he was afraid, should she ever be restored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or the assistance of her other friends, he and his party must be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance. He resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure which it would be impossible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should, upon examination, appear satisfactory. Norfolk was not secretly displeased with the regent's scruples. He had ever been a partizan of the queen of Scots: secretary Lidington, who began also to incline to that party, had engaged him to embrace farther views in his favour, and even to think of espousing her: and though that duke confessed, that the proofs against Mary seemed to him unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his resolution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the English commissioners. Norfolk, however, was obliged to transmit to court the queries proposed by the regent\*. And Elizabeth thereupon began to think that they pointed towards a conclusion more decisive and more advantageous than she had hitherto apprehended; and she determined to bring the matter into full light. Under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, she joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester; lord Clinton, admiral; and Sir William Cecil, secretary. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of these secret motives, and who expected that fear or decency would still restrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this adjournment; and declared, that the affair, being under the immediate inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton Court; and Mary's commissioners, as before, made no scruple to be present at them. The queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all Murray's demands, and declared, that though she wished and hoped, from the present enquiry, to be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event should prove contrary, and if that princess should appear guilty of her husband's murder, she should, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge against the queen of Scots, and proceeded to accuse her of participation in the assassination of the

\* These queries consisted of four particulars: whether the English commissioners had authority from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? Whether they would promise to exercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if she were found guilty, should

be delivered into the hands of the regent; or, at least, be so secured in England, that she never should be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? And whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?



king. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the English commissioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his son, accused Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormous crime. When this charge was so unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were transmitted to the bishop of Ross, lord Herreis, and the other commissioners of Mary, they absolutely refused to return an answer.

The commissioners of the queen of Scots imagined by their refusal to answer, that there could be no farther proceedings in the conference; but though this silence might be interrupted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English commissioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign; but though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman; and she therefore desired to know what they could say in their own justification. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand and the other subscribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman\*. These papers contained incontestable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwel, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her. Murray fortified this evidence by some testimonies of correspondent facts; and added, some time after, the dying confession of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a servant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being accessary to that criminal enterprize.

Mary's commissioners had used every expedient to prevent the appearance of this casket, which contained papers † so much to the dishonour of their mistress. As soon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an enquiry into a negotiation; and though informed by the English commissioners that nothing could be more dishonourable for their mistress, than to enter into a treaty with such undutiful subjects, before she had justified herself from those enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they still insisted that Elizabeth should settle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland. They maintained that, till their mistress had given in her answer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither

be called for nor produced: and finding that the English commissioners were still determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. Elizabeth, to convince the world of the equity of her proceedings, ordered her privy-council to be assembled; and, that she might render the matter more solemn and authentic, she summoned, along with them, the earl of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the English commissioners were read to them; the evidences produced by Murray were perused, a great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: the result of the queen of Scots' commissioners to make any reply, was related: and on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence before she had, in some measure, justified herself from the charge; so now, when her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answer refused, she must, for her part, persevere more steadily in that resolution. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commissioners, and, after observing that she deemed it much more decent for their mistress to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of justifying herself in person, she told them, that Mary might either send her reply by a person whom she trusted, or deliver it herself to some English nobleman, whom Elizabeth should appoint to wait upon her: but as to her resolution of making no reply at all, she must regard it as the strongest confession of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who advised her to that method of proceeding. These topics she enforced still more strongly in a letter which she wrote to Mary herself.

The queen of Scots, to keep herself the better in countenance, ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates as the murderers of the king: but this accusation being unsupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy ‡. She also desired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand was finally refused her. As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expressed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and had thrown the whole government into confusion. Elizabeth therefore dismissed him; and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds to bear the charges of his journey §.

Elizabeth gave orders for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princess, discouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late transactions,

\* All these important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a silver box or casket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her first husband, Francis; and though the princess had enjoined him to burn the letters as soon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preserve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the custody of Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the castle of Edinburgh. When that fortress was besieged by the associated lords, Bothwel sent a servant to receive the casket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the messenger; but as he had at that time received some disgust from Bothwel, and was secretly negotiating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying privy intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him.

† These papers, at least translations of them, have since been published. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force.

‡ Unless we take this angry accusation, advanced by queen Mary, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not

the least presumption which should lead us to suspect him to have been any wise an accomplice in the king's murder. That queen never pretended to give any proof of the charge; and her commissioners affirmed at the time, that they themselves knew of none, though they were ready to maintain its truth by their mistress's orders, and would produce such proof as she should send them. It is remarkable that, at that time, it was impossible for either her or them to produce any proof; because the conferences before the English commissioners were previously broken off.

§ During the conferences at York, the duke of Chateaubriant arrived at London, in passing from France; and as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plausible pretensions to the regency of the kingdom of Scots, she thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman, she still declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.



would be glad to secure a safe retreat from all the tempests with which she had been agitated; and she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; and the administration to remain during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray\*. But Mary refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared, that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in that resolution, she knew that if, in the present emergency, she made such concessions, her submission would be deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies†. Mary still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes. This liberty, however, was refused her, and Elizabeth thought it necessary still to detain her captive.

We must now mention some English affairs which we left behind, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form so material a part of the transactions of the present reign. The term fixed by the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. The chancellor, De l'Hospital, told the English ambassadors, "That though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: that it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: that though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, these governors were rebels; and correspondence with such traitors was the most flagrant injury that could be committed on any sovereign: that in the treaty which ensued upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: and that though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims, this concession could not avail the English, who at that time possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress." The queen was no wise surprized at hearing these allegations; and as she knew that the French court intended not from the first to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons, she thought it better for the present to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as well as unseasonable. Elizabeth entered anew into negotiations for espousing the arch-duke Charles; and she seems, at this time, to have no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: but as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree that the arch-duke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince,

despairing of success in his addresses, married the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria‡.

This year a new translation of the Bible was published. It was called "The Bishop's Bible."

The year 1569 was marked by conspiracies and insurrections. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and as there were at present no princes of the blood, the splendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison the first subject in England. The qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station: beneficent, affable, and generous; he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, and obsequious; he possessed, without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party: but as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoined the rare felicity of being popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which he ought always to have kept at a distance. Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: but the first person who, after secretary Ledington opened the scheme to the duke, is said to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure from Scotland. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissensions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's interest the faster with Mary's, he proposed that the duke's daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations, which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: and therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwell, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband. The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the completion of his marriage, had reason to apprehend that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her unrelenting jealousy against her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foresaw that this princess's espousing a person of his power, character, and interest, would give the greatest umbrage; and as it would then become necessary to reinstate her in possession of her throne on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-establishing of her character, he dreaded lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to such indulgent conditions§.

The secretary of state, Sir William Cecil, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but

\* Goodall, vol. II. p. 295.

† Ibid. p. 301.

‡ Camden, p. 407, 408.

§ He attempted to gain the approbation of several of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Suffex.

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Lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, cordially embraced the proposal: even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained some views of espousing Mary, willingly resigned all his pretensions, and seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests.



the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himself, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked those sallies of passion to which she was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, remonstrances, and arguments, were sure at last to recommend themselves to her discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to augment her own authority: and though she supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid about this time for having him thrown into the Tower on some pretence or other, she never gave him such unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries. Norfolk, sensible of the difficulty which he must meet with in controlling Cecil's counsels, durst not open to her his intention of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded still in the same course, of increasing his interests in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his measures\*.

So extensive a conspiracy as this could not entirely escape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn, that she was acquainted with his designs; and she frequently warned him *to beware on what pillow he reposed his head*: but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her first by Leicester, then by Murray, who, if ever he was sincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at least intended, for his own safety and that of his party, that Elizabeth should, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and should not have her consent extorted by any confederacy of her own subjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more so, as those intrigues were attended with other circumstances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was acquainted. Among the nobility and gentry, that seemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, who had no other design than that of restoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which she should think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the earl of Derby; Sir Thomas Gerard, Rolstone, and other gentlemen, whose interest lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary resided, concurred in the same views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the scheme, a diversion should, in the mean time, be made from the

side of Flanders. Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; both because his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpose by rebellion, and because he foresaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the possession of these men, they would rather choose for her husband the king of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-establish the catholic faith.

The duke in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance, affirmed that his estate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom wasted by civil wars and factions; and declared that, when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was fully satisfied with his condition. Finding that he did not convince her by these asseverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the ministers, he retired to his own country-seat without taking leave. He soon after repented of this measure, and set out on his return to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Alban's by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided. He was soon after committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil. Lesly, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots' ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

The news of an intended rebellion had been diffused in the north; and the earl of Suffex, president of York, alarmed with the danger, sent for Northumberland and Westmoreland, in order to examine them; but not finding any proof against them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile daily gained ground; and many appearances of its reality being discovered, orders were dispatched by Elizabeth to these two noblemen to appear at court, and answer for their conduct. They had already proceeded so far in their criminal designs, that they dared not to trust themselves in her hands: they had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promise of a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to send over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his most famous captains, on pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The summons, sent to the two earls, precipitated the rising before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in suspense between opposite dangers, when he was informed that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to arrest him. He took horse instantly, and hastened to his associate Westmoreland, whom he found surrounded with his friends and vassals, and deliberating with regard to the measures which he should follow on

\* A letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that she should give sufficient surety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom. When Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, Norfolk employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project; and besides securing the inte-

rests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at the country-seats, and possessed the greatest authority in the five counties. The kings of France and Spain, who had taken themselves extremely in Mary's cause, were likewise consulted and expressed their approbation of these measures. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a necessary condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to reule it.



the present emergent occasion. They determined to begin the insurrection without delay; and the great credit of these two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They published a manifesto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they avowed unshaken allegiance; and that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour. The numbers of the malcontents amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England\*.

Elizabeth was not negligent in her own defence, and she had beforehand acquired the general good-will of her people, the best security of a sovereign; insomuch that even the catholics in most counties expressed an affection for her service; and the duke of Norfolk himself, though he had lost her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his situation permitted, to promote her levies among his friends and retainers. Suffex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunston, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched against the rebels at the head of seven thousand men, and found them already advanced to the bishopric of Durham, of which they had taken possession. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advanced against them with a greater body, they found no other resource than to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses: the leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found loitering in that country, and was confined by Murray in the castle of Lochleven. Westmoreland received shelter from the chieftain of the Kers and Scots, partizans of Mary; and persuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This sudden and precipitate rebellion was followed soon after by another still more imprudent, raised by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunston, at the head of the garrison of Berwick, was able to quell these rebels†. The queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some shew of confinement, in his own house; and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with Mary.

Elizabeth now found that the detention of the queen of Scots was attended with all the ill consequences which she had foreseen when she first embraced that measure; and she had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as Mary remained a prisoner in her hands. She still flattered the Scottish queen with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies in Scotland, negotiated perpetually

concerning the terms of her restoration, made constant professions of friendship to her; and by these artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any desperate efforts for her deliverance, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never intermitted their solicitations, sometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the same deceit by the queen of Scots: professions of confidence were returned by professions equally insincere: and while an appearance of friendship was entertained on both sides, the animosity and jealousy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. These two princesses, in address, capacity, activity, and spirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, besides her present forlorn condition, was always inferior in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power, to her illustrious rival‡.

It was pretended, that Murray had entered into a private negotiation with Elizabeth, to get Mary delivered into his hands; and this was not without foundation§. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private jury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, on the 23d of January, 1570.

On the death of Murray, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. The castle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, seemed to favour her cause; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averse to her, that her authority might again acquire the ascendant. To check its progress, Elizabeth dispatched Suffex with an army to the north, under colour of chastizing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waste the lands of the Kers and Scots, seized the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities on all Mary's partizans, who, he said, had offended his mistress by harbouring the English rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards sent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houses of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in the same faction. The English armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promised in return, that no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that the English rebels should be delivered up to the queen by her partizans. But though the queen, covering herself with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, so far contributed to support the party of the young king of Scots, she was cautious not to declare openly against Mary; and she even sent a request, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princess, not to elect, during some time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore chosen temporary governor, under the title of lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partizans, instead of delivering up Westmoreland, and the other fugitives, as

\* Strype. Stowe, Hume.

† Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these vast enterprizes. Sixty-six petty constables were hanged; and no less than eight hundred persons are said to have suffered by the hands of the executioner.

‡ Elizabeth and Mary wrote at the same time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots desired that her marriage with Bothwell might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary should be restored to her dignity on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and the administration remain in the regent's hands, till the young prince should come to years of discretion; or that she should be allowed to live at liberty as a private person in Scotland, and have an honourable settlement made in her favour. Murray summoned a convention of states, in order to deliberate on these proposals of the two queens; no answer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that she had there employed the style of a sovereign, addressing herself to her subjects; but in reality, because they saw that her request was

calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or some powerful prince, who could support her cause, and restore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were so derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not so much as deliberate concerning them: the third alone could be the subject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in proposing conditions so unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refusal of those which were most advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impossible, to adjust all the terms of the third, so as to render it secure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded, that she was not sincere in any of them. Spottwood. Lesley.

§ By Munden's state papers it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for delivering up of Mary to him. The queen afterwards sent down Killigrew to the earl of Marre when regent, offering to put Mary into his hands. Killigrew was instructed to take good security from the regent, that that queen should be tried for her crimes, and that the sentence should be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer, because we hear no more of it.



they had promised, had allowed them to escape into Flanders; she permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of regent, and she sent Randolph, as her resident, to maintain a correspondence with him. But notwithstanding this step, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, she never laid aside her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princess. Thus by seeming contrarieties she kept alive the factions in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a scene of devastation and misery. The better to amuse Mary with the prospect of an accommodation, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay were sent to her with proposals from Elizabeth. The terms were somewhat rigorous, such as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of sincerity on the part of the English court\*. Elizabeth's commissioners proposed also to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; and after some reasoning on that head, it was agreed, that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation.

The Scottish parliament appointed, on the 1st of March, 1571, the earl of Morton and Sir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty, but they came to no conclusion †. An incident also happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V. who had succeeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendship of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued at last a bull of excommunication against her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by

that means to forward the northern rebellion; a measure which was at that time in agitation. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace; and scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was seized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom.

On the 2d of April, a new parliament, after five year's interval, was assembled at Westminster; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope against her, was become still more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, as was the case, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontrollable ‡. Lord keeper Bacon, after the speaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that she enjoined them, "Nor to meddle with any matters of state §:" such was his expression; by which he probably meant, the questions of the queen's marriage and the succession, about which they had before given her some uneasiness: for as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace, and war, or foreign negotiations; no parliament in that age ever presumed to take them under consideration, or question, in these particulars, the conduct of their sovereign, or his ministers. In the former parliament, the puritans had introduced seven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them. This house of commons had sat but a few days, when Strickland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the sign of the cross in baptism. Another member added, the kneeling at the sacrament; and remarked that, if a posture of humiliation were requisite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition ¶.

This

\* It was required that the queen of Scots, besides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the life time of Elizabeth, should make a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between the kingdoms; that she should marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland; that compensation should be made for the late ravages committed in England; that justice should be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other fortress, for the security of performance. These conditions were consented to; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when consulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any assistance.

† These commissioners presented memorials, containing reasons for the deposition of their queen; and they seconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottish history, with the authority of laws, and with the sentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas which Elizabeth had entertained, of the absolute, indefeasible right of sovereigns, made her be shocked with these republican topics; and she told the Scottish commissioners, that she was no wise satisfied with their reasons of justifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions which they required for their security. They replied, that their commission did not empower them to treat of any terms which might infringe the title and sovereignty of their young king, but they would gladly hear whatever proposals should be made them by her majesty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not disadvantageous to Mary; but as the commissioners still insisted that they were not authorized to treat in any manner concerning the restoration of that princess, the conferences were necessarily at an end; and Elizabeth dismissed the Scottish commissioners with injunctions, that they should return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament. The bishop of Ross openly complained to the English council, that they had abused his mistress by fair promises and professions; and Mary herself was no longer at a loss to judge of Elizabeth's insincerity. By reason of these disappointments, matters came still nearer to extremities between the two princesses; and the queen of

Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security.

‡ We shall be somewhat particular in relating the transactions of this session, because they shew, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. It will be curious also to observe the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, the jealousy with which that spirit was repressed by the sovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in opposition to it, and the ease with which it was subdued by this arbitrary princess.

§ Vide Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal, p. 141.

¶ Religion was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration. The courtiers did not forget to insist on this topic: the treasurer of the household, though he allowed that any heresy might be repressed by parliament, yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship. The comptroller seconded this argument; insisted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and said that the house might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with such matters. One Pistor opposed these remonstrances of the courtiers. It was scandalous, he said, that affairs of such infinite consequence, (name y, kneeling and making the sign of the cross,) should be passed over so lightly. These questions, he added, concern the salvation of souls, and interest every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cause he shewed to be the cause of God; the rest were all but *terrene*, yea trifles in comparison; call them ever so great: subsidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had when laid in the balance with the subjects of such unspeakable importance. But notwithstanding this, the house, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the question, that a petition should be presented to her majesty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they should stop all debate or reasoning concerning it. Matters would probably have rested here, had not the queen been so highly offended with Strickland's presumption in moving the bill for the reformation of the liturgy, that she

damned



This act of power was too violent even for the submissive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the house were invaded; observed that Strickland was not a private man, but represented a multitude; and moved, that he might be sent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might answer for it at the bar of the house, which he insinuated to be the only competent tribunal. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with still greater boldness. He said, that the precedent was dangerous; and added, that all matters not treasonable, or which implied not too much derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the crown itself must finally be determined. He remarked, that men sat not in that house in their private capacities, but as elected by their country, and though it was proper that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: as the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority. The member said the treasurer, whose attendance they required, was not restrained on account of any liberty of speech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the house against the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with observing, that even speeches, made in that house, had been questioned and examined by the sovereign. Clare, another member, remarked, that the sovereign's prerogative is not so much as disputable, and that the safety of the queen is the safety of the subject. He added, that, in questions of divinity, every man was for his instruction to repair to his ordinary; and he seems to insinuate, that the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen. Fleetwood observed, that in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth year of the present queen, had been called to account for a speech in the house. But lest this example should be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a bishop was committed to prison by the king's command, on account of his freedom of speech; and the parliament presumed not to go farther than to be humble suitors for him: in the subsequent reign the speaker himself was committed, with another member; and the house found no other remedy than a like submissive application. He advised the house to have recourse to the same expedient; and to presume either to send for their member, or demand him as of right. During this speech those members of the privy-council who sat in the house whispered together; upon which the speaker moved, that the house should make stay of all farther proceedings: a motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which she had made was likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the house; and lest the question might be resumed, she sent next day to Strickland her permission to give his attendance in parliament. Notwithstanding this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the commons

still engaged them to continue the discussion of those other bills which regard religion; but they were interrupted by a still more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condescended to be her instruments\*.

A motion made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in Bristol, gave also occasion to several remarkable incidents. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent orders by the mouth of the speaker, commanding the house to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. All the members understood that she had been offended, because a matter had been moved which seemed to touch her prerogative†. The speeches of the courtiers on this occasion gave some disgust, and they were told, that they mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion: they never had, said they, any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. The motion, however, against the exclusive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who first introduced it, was sent for by the council, and was severely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the house with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror; and during some time no one durst rise to speak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were somewhat abated, the members spoke with extreme precaution, and by employing most of their discourse in preambles and apologies, they shewed their conscious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever so gently; nay seemed to be approached, though at ever so great a distance, the whisper ran about the house, "the queen will be offended; the council will be extremely displeased:" and by these surmises men were warned of the danger to which they exposed themselves‡. Every thing which passed the two houses was extremely respectful and submissive; yet the queen thought it incumbent on her, at the conclusion of the session on the 29th of May, to check, and that with great severity, those feeble efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and speeches of some members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her name, "That, though the majority of the lower house had shewn themselves in their proceedings discreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had discovered a contrary character, and had justly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous: contrary to their duty both as subjects and parliament-men, nay, contrary to the express injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the session, injunctions which it might well become them to have better attended to, they had presumed to call in question her majesty's grants and prerogatives. But her majesty warns them, that, since they thus wilfully forget themselves, they are otherwise to be admonished: some other species of correction must be found for them; since neither the commands of her majesty, nor the example of their wiser brethren, can

summons him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the house of commons.

\* This house sent a message to the commons, desiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were appointed for that purpose; and the upper house acquainted them, that the queen's majesty being informed of the articles of resolution which they had canvassed, approved of them, intended to publish them, and to make the bishops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as supreme head of the church of England; but that she would not permit them to be treated in parliament. The house, though they did not entirely disapprove on account of this injunction, seem to have been no wise offended at such haughty treatment; and in the issue all the bills came to nothing.

† Fleetwood accordingly spoke of this delicate subject. He observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to question the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subjected

to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book, to prove that no man might speak in parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave licence; because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He shewed likewise the statutes of Edward I. Edward III. and Henry IV. with a *saving of the prerogative*. And in Edward VIth's time, the protector was applied to, for his *allowance to mention matters of prerogative*.

‡ It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with such imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects. D'Ewes, p. 242.



reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what no wise belongs to them, and what lies beyond the compass of their understanding." In all these transactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvass any matters of state; still less were they to meddle with the church. So great was the power of Elizabeth, that even though monopolies and exclusive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increasing, to the destruction of all liberty, and extinction of all industry; it was criminal in a member to propose, in the most dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application against any of them. These maxims of government were not kept secret by Elizabeth, or smoothed over by any fair appearances or plausible pretences. They were openly avowed in her speeches and messages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtiness, nay sometimes bitterness of expression, which the meanest servant could look for from his offended master. Yet notwithstanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the most popular sovereign that ever swayed the scepter of England; because the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the constitution. The continued encroachments of popular assemblies on Elizabeth's successors have so changed our ideas in these matters, that the passages above-mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at first surprising; but they were so little remarked during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other historian, has taken any notice of them. So absolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the puritans alone; and it is to this sect, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution. Actuated by that zeal and courage which they have ever been noted for, they hazarded the utmost indignation of their sovereign; and employing all their industry to be elected into parliament, a matter not difficult while a seat was rather regarded as a burthen than an advantage, they first acquired a majority in that assembly, and then obtained an ascendant over the church and monarchy\*.

Among the laws enacted this session were the following: it was declared treason, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that any other possessed a preferable title, or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel, or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the successor thereof: to maintain in writing or printing, that any person except the *natural issue*† of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or successor, subjected the person, and all his abettors, for the first offence, to imprisonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: the second offence subjected them to the penalty of a *præmunire*. It was also enacted, that whosoever by bulls should publish absolutions or other rescripts of the pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, such offenders, as well as those who were so reconciled, should be guilty of treason. The penalty of a *præmunire* was imposed on every one who imported *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, consecrated by the pope. The former laws against usury were enforced by a new statute. A supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as she was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in asking them

for any supply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown, or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by some ruinous expedient.

We shall now resume our account of the civil wars of France. The league, formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the protestants, had not been concluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the Hugonots; and finding that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The Hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely united, as well by their religious zeal as by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed, with entire submission, the orders of their leaders, who were ready on every signal to fly to arms. The king and queen-mother were living in great security at Monceaux in Brie, when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters, and had not a body of Swiss come speedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the Hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German protestants, appeared again in the field; and laying siege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation. So great was the mutual animosity of these religionists, that even had the leaders on both sides been ever so sincere in their intentions for peace, and reposed ever so much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more where such extreme jealousy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a snare for their enemies. A plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned their partizans to their assistance. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became still more exasperated against each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought, in 1569, a battle at Jarnac with the Hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed, and his army defeated. This discomfiture, with the loss of so great a leader, did not reduce the Hugonots to despair. The admiral still supported the cause; and having placed at the head of the protestants the prince of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to perish bravely in the field, than ignominiously by the hands of the executioner. He collected such numbers, so determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head against the duke of Anjou; and being strengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat and to divide his forces. Coligni then laid siege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of France were fixed on this enterprise, the duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the place, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and glory

\* As we shall have occasion to take notice of the puritans in a future part of our History, we shall defer our account of the rise, &c. of that sect, till another opportunity shall offer.

† We may here observe, that the usual phrase of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was

changed into that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was a source of pleantry during the time; and some suspect a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's demise, to produce some bastard of his own, and affirm that it was her offspring.



afterwards attained by this duke of Guise. The attachment which all the catholics had borne to his father was immediately transferred to the son.

Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was no wise pleased with this new rise of her enemies the Guises; and being anxious for the fate of the protestants, whose interests were connected with her own, she was engaged, notwithstanding her aversion to all rebellion, and all opposition to the will of the sovereign, to give them secretly some assistance. Besides employing her authority with the German princes, she lent money to the queen of Navarre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan; and she permitted Henry Champignon to levy, and transport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself in that great school of military valour. The admiral, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the Hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, flattered themselves that the force of the rebels was at last finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprised to hear that this leader had appeared, without delay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even strong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprises, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme animosity against the Hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edict for liberty of conscience. Though a pacification was seemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was no wise reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare, by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the Hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and to convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels which seemed to be embraced, the terms of the peace were religiously observed to them; the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to infringe it were punished with severity; offices, and favours, and honours, were bestowed on the principal nobility among the protestants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion. Among the other artifices employed to lull the protestants into a fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connection with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great-Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be supposed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether insensible to these endowments. The queen im-

mediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, she laid herself the more open to be deceived. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed, difficulties started and removed, and the two courts, equally insincere, though not equally culpable, seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The great obstacle seemed to be in adjusting the differences of religion, because Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her husband; and the duke of Anjou seemed unwilling to submit, for the sake of interest, to the dishonour of an apostasy. The artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed so much in any contrivance as in those which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final conclusion, venture the farther in their concessions and offers to her.

The affairs of the Low Countries excited Elizabeth's attention. The inhabitants of those places were thrown into greater disorder on account of the diversity of opinions in religious matters. The emperor Charles, who proposed to augment his authority under pretence of defending the catholic faith, adopted the principle that "innovation in religion, and rebellion go hand in hand;" and notwithstanding the limited prerogative which he possessed in the Netherlands, he published the most arbitrary, severe, and tyrannical edicts against the protestants; and he took care that the execution of them should be no less violent and sanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigoted in his natural disposition; yet an historian, celebrated for moderation and caution, had computed that, in the several persecutions promoted by that monarch, no less than a hundred thousand persons perished by the hands of the executioner\*. But these severe remedies, far from answering the purposes intended, had rather served to augment the numbers, as well as zeal of the reformers; and the magistrates of the several towns, seeing no end of those barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel against their principles, and declined any farther persecution of the new doctrines. When Philip succeeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were justly alarmed with new apprehensions; lest their prince, observing the lenity of the magistrates, should take the execution of the edicts from such remiss hands, and should establish the inquisition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The severe and unrelenting character of the man, his professed attachment to Spanish manners, the inflexible bigotry of his principles; all these circumstances increased their terror: and when he departed the Netherlands, with a known intention never to return, the disgust of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of those tyrannical orders which their sovereign, surrounded with Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the duchess of Parma, governess of the Low Countries. But the Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the duchess; the cardinal Granville entirely possessed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy. The discontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men shewed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, tumultuary petitions presented,

persons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

names

\* Groti Annal. lib. 1. Father Paul, another great authority, computes in a passage above cited, that fifty thousand



names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal, and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most outrageous disorders. The wiser part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which their own discontents had at first given countenance; and seconding the wisdom of the governors, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, punished the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not contented with this: he considered, that provinces so remote from the seat of government could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and therefore he determined to lay hold of the late popular disorders, as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces, and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority. In the execution of this design, he employed Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant, who had been educated amidst arms; and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military arts, his habits led him to transfer into all government the severe discipline of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience\*. We cannot with propriety relate at length all those violences which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It may suffice to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their merits and past services, were brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into confinement, and thence were delivered over to the executioner: and notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death!

Elizabeth was equally displeased to see the progress of that scheme, laid for the extermination of the protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power, in a state situated so near her own country. She gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had

rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom†.

Elizabeth's enemies, in order to revenge themselves for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the queen of Scots; and Alva soon opened a secret intercourse with that princess. One Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the correspondence of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry, had been thrown into prison at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been discovered; but either no proof was found against him, or the part which he had acted was not very criminal; and he soon after recovered his liberty. This man, had formed a scheme, in concert with the Spanish ambassador, for subverting the government, by a foreign invasion and a domestic insurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary, he found that, as she was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and despaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific measures, she willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of discontented catholics were the chief source of their hopes on the side of England; but in order to inspire life and courage into the malcontents, it was requisite that some great nobleman should put himself at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the bishop of Ross, who entered into all these intrigues, so proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk. This nobleman, when released from confinement in the Tower, had given his promise, that he would drop all intercourse with the queen of Scots; but finding that he had lost, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being still, in some degree, restrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and despair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with the captive princess. A promise of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and as his remorse gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprizes still more criminal‡. Notwithstanding his consent, Norfolk had never entirely forgotten his duty to his sovereign, to his country, and to his religion; and he vainly flattered himself, that as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Elizabeth's consent

\* This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation.

† Foreseeing that the violent government of Alva could not long subsist without exciting some commotion, Elizabeth ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. Some Genoese merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by some privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen finding, upon enquiry, that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this resource in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemish and Spanish merchants; and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip. These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his

arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: he also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbet: and thus matters came still nearer the last extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

‡ Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva should, on some other pretence, assemble a great quantity of shipping in the Low Countries; should transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose upon her. Norfolk expresses his assent to this plan; and three letters, in consequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehensive of the danger, refused to sign them. He only sent to the Spanish ambassador a servant and confidant, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of these letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambassador, proceeded on his journey to Brussels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the scheme with alacrity: Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions: and every thing seemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.



to his marriage, he could not justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor. But as the insurrection, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning of her, her authority was exposed to the utmost danger.

The conspiracy had hitherto escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secretary Cecil, now lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at last to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to lord Herreis, and his partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannister, a servant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to lord Herreis. He entrusted the money to a servant who was not in the secret, and told him, that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Bannister with a letter: but the servant conjecturing, from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh, who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker, and Hickford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture made them confess the whole truth; and as Hickford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full evidence now appeared against his master. Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in denying every crime with which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his sincere repentance, she would have pardoned all his former offences; but finding him obstinate, she committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The bishop of Ross had, on some suspicion, been committed to custody before the discovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his share in the conspiracy. He at first insisted on his privilege; but he was told, that, as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambassador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conspiring against the sovereign at whose court he resided. As he still refused to answer interrogatories, he was informed of the confession made by Norfolk's servants; after which he no longer scrupled to make a full discovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all question. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him, on the 12th of January, 1572\*.

Mary was the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, and might reasonably, from the harsh treatment which she had met with, think herself entitled to use any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durst not, as yet, form any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. She only sent lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilson, to expostulate with her, and to demand satisfaction for all those parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given displeasure to Elizabeth: her assuming the arms of England, refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's consent, concurring in the northern rebellion, practising with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invasion of England, procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary justified herself from the several articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others. But the queen was

little satisfied with her apology, and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed some topics derived from practice and reason; and the laws of nations; but the chief stress was laid on passages and examples from the Old Testament. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princess, satisfied with shewing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the house her express commands not to deal any farther at present in the affairs of the Scottish queen. The puritannical interest now prevailed in the house; and the commons had passed two bills for regulating ecclesiastical ceremonies; but Elizabeth sent them an imperious message, by which she stopped all farther proceedings in those matters.

Though Elizabeth would not carry affairs to such extremities against Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, she was alarmed at the great interest and the restless spirit of that princess, as well as her close connections with Spain; and she thought it necessary both to increase the rigour and strictness of her confinement, and to follow maxims different from those which she had hitherto pursued in her management of Scotland. That kingdom remained still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. Kirkaldy's fortunes, by various circumstances, were become desperate; and he flattered himself with the hopes of receiving assistance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obstinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give disturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; she no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, she found, would not any longer be amused by her artifices; she had an implicit reliance on Morton; and she saw, that, by the submission of all the considerable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an easy, as well as a most important undertaking. She ordered, therefore, Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle. The garrison surrendered at discretion: Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed: secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died soon after a voluntary death, as is supposed; and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any farther inquietude to Elizabeth.

The affairs of France were not so agreeable to the queen's interests and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been so often made with the Hugonots, gave them reason to suspect the present intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and uncertain. But his suspicions were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end the miseries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. As Charles was young, was of a passionate, hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure, deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or almost impossible, to be uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the Hugonots, began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth

the execution of the duke; a sanction which, when added to the greatness and certainty of his guilt, would, she thought justly, in the eyes of all mankind, her severity against that nobleman. Norfolk died on the 2d of June with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered.

\* Notwithstanding the crime, the queen hesitated concerning Norfolk's being brought to the block. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution, and twice she revoked the fatal sentence; and though her ministers and counsellors pushed her to rigour, she still appeared irresolute and undetermined. After four month's hesitation, a parliament was assembled on the 8th of May; and the commons addressed her, in strong terms, for



herself, notwithstanding her great experience, and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity; and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former, on the 11th of April, and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince. The better to blind the jealous Hugonots, and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them, Charles offered his sister, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre, and the admiral, with all the considerable nobility of the party, had come to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the sanguinary animosity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: yet Charles, redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the Hugonots in their security; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, August 24, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religionists, and the king himself, in person, led the way to these assassinations\*. Charles, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the Hugonots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Lenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction. That minister, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman. Yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology which had been prescribed to him. The queen heard his apology, without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation, and then told him, "That though, on the first rumour of this dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who rested secure on the faith of their sovereign, should have been suddenly butchered in so barbarous a manner; she had hitherto suspended her judgement, till farther and more certain information should be brought her: that the account which he had given, even if founded on no mistake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange irregularity of their proceedings: that the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, could easily have secured their persons, and have reserved them for a trial, and for punishment by a legal sentence, which would have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: that the admiral, in particular, being dangerously wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whose protection he seemed entirely to rely, had no means of escape, and might surely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: that it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve in his own hands the sword of justice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal

enemies of the persons accused, employed it without mercy and without distinction: that if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the protestants to be real, how much more so, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their destruction? That if, upon enquiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, had murdered so many of his brave subjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlasting dishonour: and that, for her part, she should form her judgement of his intentions by his subsequent conduct; and in the mean time should act as desired by the ambassador, and rather pity than blame his master, for the extremities to which he had been carried."

Elizabeth was now fully sensible of the dangerous situation in which she stood. She dreaded the effects of the bigotry and cruelty of the counsels of Charles and Philip, who were now united by the strongest ties of friendship against every partizan of the reformed religion. Besides, the duke of Guise and his family had again acquired the entire ascendant in the court of France; and the queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was the pretender to the throne; and, though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit, and, besides her foreign allies, possessed numerous and zealous friends in the heart of the kingdom. For these reasons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but still to listen to the professions of friendship which he made her. She allowed even the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother. She sent the earl of Worcester to assist in her name at the baptism of a young prince, born to Charles; but before she agreed to give him this last mark of condescension, she thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expressions of blame, and even of detestation, against the cruelties exercised on his protestant subjects. Meanwhile, she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists: she fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the bigoted Romanists. Such of the Hugonots as lived near the frontiers, immediately, on the first news of the massacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compassion and indignation of the protestants, and prepared themselves, with increased forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took shelter in the nearest garrisons occupied by the Hugonots; and finding, that they could repose no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The sect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thousand men on foot, and possessed, in 1573, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, castles, or fortresses; nor could that prince

\* The hatred long entertained by the Parisians against the protestant, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son-in-law, Teligni, Soubize, Rochetoucault, Parlaillon, Piles, and Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered, without resistance, the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining, that death had saved the victims from farther insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality.

About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre, and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like execution of the protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the court. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming conversion to that religion.



deem himself secure from the invasion threatened him by all the other protestants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge: but Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. The German princes, less politic or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the protestants; and the young prince of Condé having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many considerable men even among the catholics, displeased, either on a private or public account, with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the Hugonots; and every thing relapsed into confusion. The king, instead of repenting his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremities, called aloud for new violences: nor could even the mortal distemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animosity by which he was educated. He died without male issue, on the 30th of May, 1574, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince, whose character, containing that unusual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greatest mischiefs, and threatened still worse, both to his native country and to all Europe.

Henry duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France; and found the kingdom not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of composition between them. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise and his family. Henry observing the low condition of the crown, had laid a scheme for restoring his authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself; but instead of acquiring a superiority over each faction, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere still more closely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and sincere in the cause which they espoused. The Hugonots were strengthened, in 1576, by the accession of a German army under the prince of Condé and prince Casimir; but much more by the credit and personal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himself at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in prosecution of his plan, entered into a composition with them; and being desirous of preserving a balance between the sects, he granted them peace on the most advantageous conditions\*.

In 1576 the duke of Guise formed a league against the protestants; and Henry in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and even to elude its efforts against the Hugonots, declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romanists, in 1577. But his dilatory and feeble measures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking,

and after some unsuccessful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the protestants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence still prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was suspicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itself against that breach, which, they foresaw, must speedily ensue; theological controversy daily whetted the animosity of the sects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

The king, hoping by his artifice and subtlety, to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose, was himself caught in the snare; and, sinking into a dissolute indolence, wholly lost the esteem, and the affection of his people, in 1578. The artifices of the king were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed; for, in 1579, the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and that of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themselves without reserve to one or the other of those great leaders. The civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foresight and vigilance, led her to take secretly some part in them. Besides employing on all occasions her good offices in favour of the Hugonots, she had expended no inconsiderable sums in levying that army of Germans which the prince of Condé and prince Casimir conducted into France; and notwithstanding her negotiations with the court, and her professions of amity, she always considered her own interests as connected with the prosperity of the French protestants and the depression of the house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league; had entered into the closest correspondence with Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader.

Similar political views to those which engaged Elizabeth to support the Hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and all provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. The Spanish ambassador represented to her, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes; and by these remonstrances the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this measure proved in the issue extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. The desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most perilous enterprises; and they made an assault on the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, where they met with success, and, after a short resistance, became masters of the place. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and, stopping those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings, he hastened with his army to extinguish the flame, which, falling on materials well prepared for combustion, seemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears soon appeared to be well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppression, intolerance, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almost the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared against the tyranny of Alva.

William, prince of Orange, descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany,

to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the Hugonots.

inheriting

\* The duke of Guise took thence an occasion of reducing his party into a more regular body, and laid the first foundations of the famous league, which, without paying any regard



inheriting the possessions of a sovereign family in France, had fixed his residence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immense riches, as well as of his personal merits, was universally regarded as the greatest subject that lived in those provinces. He had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in absence, was declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. In revenge, he had levied an army of protestants in the empire, and had made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty: but was still repulsed with loss by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as discipline, of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general. The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no less than spirit, to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. From this spirit proceeded the desperate defence of Haerlem; a defence which nothing but the most consuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants. This extreme severity, instead of striking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by despair; and the vigorous resistance made at Alcaer, where Alva was finally repulsed, shewed them that their insolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at last the pernicious effects of his violent councils, solicited to be recalled: Medinaceli, who was appointed his successor, refused to accept the government: Requesens, commendator of Castile, was sent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting in his turn, that, during the course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner.

Requesens, though a man of milder dispositions, could not appease the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government; and the war continued as obstinate as ever. In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive them from the enterprize; and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithstanding this repulse, the governor still pursued the war; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was resolved to sue for foreign succour, and to make application to Elizabeth. As she had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip,

and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would engage her to support them under their present calamities. They sent therefore a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelles, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence. Elizabeth, however, did not seem willing to take the government of those provinces into her hands; and told the ambassadors that she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be obtained. She sent accordingly Sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and represented to him the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with its former violence and rage. It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: they threatened the other cities with a like fate: and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protector. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the states had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities. But the ambition of Don John, engaged him to endame the quarrel; and as he found the states determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army from Italy. Elizabeth seeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with her own safety\*. The queen represented to the king of Spain, by her ambassador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto she had religiously acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to submit to the king; and had even accompanied her counsel with menaces, in case of his refusal. She persevered, she said, in the same friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpose with her advice for the composition of the present differences: let Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled, let some other prince more popular be substituted in his room; let the Spanish arms be withdrawn; let the Flemings be restored to their ancient liberties and privileges: and if, after these concessions, they were still obstinate not to return to their duty, she

\* After sending them a sum of money, about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty with them; in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thousand pounds, on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for her re-payment within the year. It was further agreed, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the states; and nothing

be determined concerning war or peace, without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any discord arose among themselves, it should be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that which she had employed in their defence. This alliance was signed on the 7th of January, 1578.



promised to join her arms with those of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip dissimulated his resentment against the queen; and still continued to supply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulsed at Rimenant by the valour of the English under Norris, and though opposed, as well by the army of the states as by prince Casimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma succeeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negotiation and military exploits, made great progress against the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During these years, while Europe was almost every where agitated, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By supporting the zealous protestants in Scotland, she had twice given them the superiority over their antagonists, had closely connected their interests with her own, and had procured herself entire security from that quarter, whence the most dangerous invasions could be made upon her. She saw in France her enemies, the Guises counterbalanced by the Hugonots, her zealous partizans. The bigotry of Philip gave her just ground of anxiety; but the same bigotry had happily excited the most obstinate opposition among his own subjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely soon to subdue. The queen of Scots, her antagonist and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a prisoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high spirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partizans in England. Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: she imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who received trust or emolument from the public: and though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at, while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, shewed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship. The pope, sensible that this practice would by degrees

reconcile all the partizans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emissaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as possible, and to make the frequenting of protestant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics. These practices, with the rebellion which ensued, increased the vigilance and severity of the government; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the Nonconformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution. The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a different motive, and to retain claims, of which both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline had been carefully repressed in the beginning of this reign; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shewn a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation, though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection which they received from some of her most considerable courtiers. But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the heart of her subjects, was, her frugality, which led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people. By means of her rigid œconomy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; a practice in that age somewhat unusual: and she established her credit on such a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigences might at any time require. During this tranquil government, England furnishes few materials for history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

The most memorable event in this period was a session of parliament, held on the 8th of February, 1576; where debates were started, which may appear somewhat curious and singular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had signalized himself in former parliaments by his free and undaunted spirit, opened this session with a premeditated harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the house, and gave great offence to the queen and the ministers\*. The commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual licence: they sequestered

Wentworth

\* As it seems to contain a rude sketch of these principles of liberty which happily gained afterwards the ascendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the substance of it. He premised, that the very name of liberty is sweet; but the thing itself is precious beyond the most inestimable treasure: and that it behoved them to be careful, lest, contending themselves with the sweetness of the name, they forego the substance, and abandon what of all earthly possessions was of the highest value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to observe, that freedom of speech in that house, a privilege so useful both to sovereign and to subject, had been formerly infringed in many essential articles, and was at present exposed to the most imminent danger: that it was usual, when any subject of importance was handled, especially if it regarded religion, to surmise, that these topics were disagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: that Solomon had justly affirmed the king's displeasure to be a messenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of confidence and duty, should be inclined to stop short, when they found themselves exposed to so severe a penalty: that, by the employing of this argument, the house was incapacitated from serving their country, and even from serving the queen herself; whose ears, belied by pernicious flatterers, were

thereby rendered inaccessible to the most salutary truths: that it was a mockery to call an assembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was so essential to its being, and without which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation: that, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themselves derive their being: that a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: that even his commission as God's vice-gerent, enforced, instead of loosening, this obligation; since he was thereby invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: that though these surmises of displeasing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law, yet was there a more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties, by frequent messages from the throne: that it had become a practice, when the house was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and debarring them from all farther discussion of these momentous articles: that the pre-



Wentworth from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeants at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy council; and a report to be next day made to the house. This committee met in the star-chamber, and, wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to appear before them and answer for his behaviour. But though the commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star-chamber; Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and refused to give these considerers any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were satisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the house. He justified his liberty of speech, by pleading the rigour and harshness of the queen's messages; notwithstanding that the committee shewed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favour, she had restored him to his liberty, and to his place in the house. By this seeming lenity, she directly retained the power which she had assumed, of imprisoning the members, and obliging them to answer before her for their conduct in parliament. And Sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the house sensible of her majesty's goodness, in so gently remitting the indignation which she might justly conceive at the temerity of their member: but he informed them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased; and that indiscreet freedoms used in that house had, both in the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuse farther the queen's clemency; lest she be constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity. The commons granted an aid of one subsidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to satisfy the house concerning the reasonableness of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's past expences in supporting the government, and of the increasing charges of the crown, from the daily increase in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admonish them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condescension, since she was not bound to give them any account how she employed her treasure.

We must now resume our account of the Scottish affairs. The earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom: but it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itself in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes so often met with opposition and control. The nobility began anew to break into factions: the people were disgusted with some instances of Morton's avarice: and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and increased the discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and, having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this concession, and required that demission which he seemed so frankly to offer them.

lates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicitly submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: that the love which he bore his sovereign, forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance: and that as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but, in imposing this servitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dan-

James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and seemed to employ himself entirely in the care of his domestic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared insipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendant in the council; and though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government: queen Elizabeth interposed by her ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority seemed to become every day more precarious. The count d'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he appeared to the duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He appeared at Stirling in 1580, where James resided, and acquired the affections of the young monarch. Joining his interests with those of James Stuart of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himself in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him in the administration. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent anew Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accusing d'Aubigny, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such suspicious and dangerous connections. The king excused himself, by Sir Alexander Hume his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was further confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor\*. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the earls of Argyll, Montrose, Angus, Mar, and Glencairne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of England; and this expedient served only to hasten his sentence and execution, which happened on the 2d of June, 1581.

In order to be revenged on Elizabeth for assisting his rebels in the Low Countries, Philip sent, under the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent and discontented with the English government,

gerous fault against herself and the whole commonwealth. D'Ewe, p. 236, 237, &c.

\* He confessed that Bothwell had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had detested the concurrence; but he denied that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuse for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder.



were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spanish general, San Josepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there besieged by the earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After some assaults, feebly sustained, he surrendered at discretion; and Gray, who commanded but a small force, finding himself encumbered with so many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Irish: a cruelty which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth. When the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake\*, a bold seaman, who had assailed the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New World. When Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, exclaimed against Drake's piracies, he told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole New World, and excluding thence all other European nations, who should sail thither, even with a view of exercising the most lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into those countries. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Seburu, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

On the 16th of January, 1581, a parliament was assembled, which besides granting her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of her government, chiefly against the attempts of the catholics †. This session the puritans prevailed so far as to have further applications made for reformation in religion; and Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved, that the commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers: a motion to which the house unwarily assented. For this presumption, they were severely reprimanded by a message from the queen, as encroaching

on the royal prerogative and supremacy; and they were obliged to submit, and ask forgiveness.

Religious seminaries were founded in several parts of Europe, for the instruction of priests; and spreading of the catholic doctrines. These seminaries sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen; whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic; a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purpose against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers, such violent doctrines. These men, the Jesuits, as they stood foremost in the contest against the protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were ever exposed to the envy of their brethren ‡.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth. In order to forward his suit, the duke sent over Simier, an artful man, and of an agreeable conversation, who, soon remarking the queen's humour, amused her with gay discourse, and instead of serious political reasonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his master's interests, he introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry. The pleasure which she found in this man's company, soon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidst the greatest hurry of business, her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negotiation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed with any courtship paid her, and who always trusted, that her love of dominion would prevail

\* This man, sprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the archipelago of Panama, and having there got a sight of the Pacific ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he scrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through those seas, so much unknown at that time to all the European nations. By means of Sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her consent and approbation; and he set sail from Plymouth in December 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magelhaen, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the same way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely to Plymouth, by the Cape of Good Hope, on the 3d of November, 1580. He was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe; and the first commander in chief: for Magelhaen, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to persuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

† Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treason; to say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being

present was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks: a fine of twenty pounds a month was imposed on every one who continued, during that time, absent from church. To utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence.

‡ The Jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partizans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons to require it. Campion was afterwards detected in treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confessing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and prosecuted, with the greatest appearance of success, his marriage with the queen; and this severity was probably intended to appease her protestant subjects, and to satisfy them, that whatever measures she might pursue, she never would depart from the principles of the reformation.



over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend, that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement which she had given to this young suitor, had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himself of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that that minister had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; and he revealed to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to disclose, that this nobleman was secretly, without her consent, married to the widow of the earl of Essex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of respect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which so provoked her, that she threatened to send him to the Tower\*. The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her: and soon after, she commanded Burleigh, now treasurer; Suffex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had sent over on this occasion a splendid embassy, consisting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many considerable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of prescribing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled with the English commissioners†. Lest the English should take offence at the articles, the queen, as a proof of her remaining uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen sent over Walsingham, an ambassador to France, in order to form closer connections with Henry, and enter into a league offensive and defensive against the encreasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain. Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared, "That she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage." The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negociation for the marriage. But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution; and not only the court of France,

but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last conclude. She even sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns; by which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray; and being chosen by the states governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. From the reception he met with he expected entire success, and entertained hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted all scruples, and was determined to choose him for her husband‡.

But notwithstanding Elizabeth's attachment to the duke of Anjou, several noblemen and gentlemen endeavoured to dissuade her from a matrimonial connection with the son of the perfidious Catharine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himself embued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceless protestants. The remonstrances of her courtiers so far prevailed, that having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the ring which she had given him; and uttered many curses on the mutability of women, and of islanders. Soon after, in 1582, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; lost the confidence of the states by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died.

Elizabeth's anxiety from the attempts of the English catholics never ceased during the whole course of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the source sometimes of her hopes, sometimes of her apprehensions. This year the affairs of Scotland strongly engaged her attention. The influence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now assumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a slender foundation of authority, while the generality of the nobles and all the preachers were so much discontented with their administration. The assembly of the church appointed a solemn fast; of which one of the avowed reasons was the danger to which the king was exposed from the company of wicked persons: and on that day the pulpits resounded with declamations against Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry's; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition, on the 23d of August§. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but

\* The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired, which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon enquiry, that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person his liberty. So far was she from entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was heard to say, "That she would lend credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children."

† It was agreed, that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their religion; that after the marriage he should bear the title of king, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of Eng-

land; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; and the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

‡ In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, November 17, she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a passionate book, which he entitled, "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!"

§ The leaders in this enterprise were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Mar, the lords Lindsey and Boyd, the



but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: better that boys weep than bearded men:" an expression which James could never afterwards forgive; but notwithstanding his repentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associates; acknowledged the detention of his person to be acceptable service; and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that enterprize. The assembly, though they had previously determined that the king should never intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempt of the conspirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preservation of the king's person, and prosperous state of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every man who should oppose the authority of the consecrated lords. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed, chose to retire into France, where he soon after died\*. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours and estates, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and never forgot the early friendship which he had borne their father.

This revolution being known in England, the queen sent Sir Henry Cary and Sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the earl of Angus, who ever since Morton's fall had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and as James suspected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper before the English ambassadors to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, in 1583, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambassadors from France: their errand was to enquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots †. What increased their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary was, that the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy believed the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess both for her own and her son's liberty ‡. Elizabeth, however, was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event; and Mary herself, sensible of the difficulties

attending her restoration to the throne, became more humble in her wishes, and proposed that she should be associated with her son in the title of the crown of Scotland, but that the administration should remain solely in him. But Elizabeth fearful of her escape into France or Spain, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. Elizabeth even set a negotiation on foot; but the privy-council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed, that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than some loose proposals for that purpose.

The Scottish affairs remained not long in their present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Mar, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their submission, and an acknowledgement of their fault in seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Mar, and Glamis, left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their resistance they had thrown all power into the hands of a person whose counsels were as violent as his manners were profligate. Elizabeth wrote a letter to James, in which she quoted a moral sentence from Socrates; and indirectly reproached him with inconstancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, justified his measures; and retaliated by turning two passages of Socrates against her. She next sent Walsingham in an embassy to him; and her chief purpose in employing that aged minister in an errand where so little business was to be transacted, was to learn from a man of so much penetration and experience, the real character of James §.

The king of Scots persevering in his present views, summoned a parliament in 1584; where it was enacted, "That no clergyman should presume in his sermons to utter false, untrue, or scandalous speeches against the king, the council, or the public measures, or to meddle in an improper manner with the affairs of his majesty and the states." The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were extremely offended: they said, "That the king was become popish in his heart;" and they gave their adversaries the epithets of gross libertines, belly gods, and infamous persons. The violent conduct of Arran soon brought over the popularity to their side. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to prison, was tried on some new accusations, condemned,

masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermline, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth.

\* He persevered to the last in the protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced.

† This last proposal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the assembly voted the settling of terms between the mother and son to be a most wicked undertaking. The pulpits resounded with declamations against the French ambassadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guise: and as that minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it in contempt the badge of Antichrist. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to retract these insolent reflections; but in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a splendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed

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that very day for a public fast; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses on the magistrates, who by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical, authority.

‡ See Camden, p. 489.

§ This young prince possessed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and industry which his station required; and as he excelled in general discourse and conversation, Walsingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real business was transacted, to have fully merited. The account which he gave his mistress induced her to treat James thenceforth with some more regard than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him.



and executed. Many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the banished lords, being assisted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their estates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's presence, were pardoned and restored to his favour. Arran was degraded from authority, deprived of that estate and title which he had usurped; and the whole country seemed to be composed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after opposing the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient before his fall to compound all differences with him by means of Davison, a minister whom she sent to Scotland: but having more confidence in the lords whom she had helped to restore, she was pleased with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correspondence with the new court and ministry of James.

This year the zeal of the catholics threatened Elizabeth with some dangerous insurrection. The vigilance of the ministers, particularly Burleigh and Walsingham, was raised in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts were employed in detecting conspiracies, and even discovering the secret inclinations of men\*. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before; and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treasonable designs, immediately withdrew beyond sea. Throgmorton confessed that a plan for an invasion and insurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was desirous of retracting this confession, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, having promoted this conspiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was sent into Spain, to excuse his dismissal, and to desire the king to send another ambassador in his place: but Philip would not so much as admit the English ambassador to his presence. Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers, with an intention of throwing them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back into the ship, they were pieced together, and discovered some dangerous secrets. Many of these conspiracies were, with great appearance

of reason, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise: and she was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot by the earl of Leicester and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it†. Elizabeth, that she might the more discourage malcontents, summoned a new parliament on the 23d of November; and met with that dutiful attachment which she expected. The association was confirmed by parliament; and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her, upon condemnation, pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable as her majesty should direct. And for greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason. A severe law was also enacted against jesuits and popish priests‡: In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests. The parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance in which these proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the commons for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her as well as them in a delicate point, they discovered how much they were over-awed by her authority. The majority of the house were puritans, or inclined to that sect; but the severe reprimands which they had already in former sessions met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion. They were content to proceed by way of petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which would have given offence, but to the house of lords§.

During this session of parliament a conspiracy was discovered,

\* Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the English exiles, and privately conveyed to the houses of the catholics: spies were hired to observe the action and discourse of suspected persons: informers were countenanced; and though the sagacity of these two great ministers helped them to distinguish the true from the false intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to; and all the subjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmost anxiety and inquietude.

† The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion or for whose behoof any violence should be offered to her majesty. The queen of Scots was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired leave to subscribe it.

‡ It was ordained that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void. By this law the exercise of the catholic religion was totally suppressed.

§ The most material article which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of ecclesiastical commis-

sion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation. "The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the non-conforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of prophesyings for the assemblies of the zealots in private houses, which she apprehended had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence she had, by an order of the star-chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen, that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one, more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority\*. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum: the jurisdic-

\* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 410.



discovered, which much increased the animosity against the catholics, and still farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio Campeggio, when consulted, approved of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though agitated with doubts, came to Paris with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his sanguinary purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and some other catholic priests told him, that the enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was extremely applauded: and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. But this bigoted assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion: but, lest he should be tempted by the oppor-

tunity to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and having made a vehement harangue against the severe laws enacted this last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the house. His failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. A book newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served farther to efface all their scruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and, having agreed to shoot the queen while she should be taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty so agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. While they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estates and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and that criminal, having received sentence of death, suffered the punishment which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy\*.

One Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, somewhat disordered in his understanding, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics and persecutors, that he came to London with

diction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, and schisms, in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make enquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, and fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage: and the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real inquisition; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious prince's; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason, could limit and determine.

“But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen in a speech from the throne at the end of the session, could not forbear taking notice of their presumption, and reproving them for those murmurs which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced so low as not

directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them some general thanks for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a slander upon her, since she was appointed by God supreme ruler over it, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in the kingdom but by her commission and negligence: that some abuses must necessarily have place in every thing; but she warned the prelates to be watchful; for if she found them careless of their charge, she was fully determined to depose them: that she was commonly supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical (by which I suppose she meant theological,) and she would confess that few, whose leisure had not allowed them to make profession of science, had read or reflected more: that as she could discern the presumption of many, in curiously canvassing the Scriptures, and starting innovations, she would no longer endure this licentiousness; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the just mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern sectaries: and that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies of her person, so the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgement, and to censure the actions of the prince.” See Hume, ch. xlii.

\* This year the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, had been engaged in a conspiracy with lord Paget for the deliverance of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conscious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at least that sentence would infallibly be pronounced against him, he freed himself from farther prosecution by a voluntary death. He shot himself in the breast with a pistol. About the same time the earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into some exceptionable measures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart secretly beyond sea, but was discovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587 this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treason; chiefly because he had dropped some expressions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed, that he would have masses said for the success of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treason: this severe sentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a prisoner in 1595. He carried his religious austerities so far, that they were believed to have been the immediate cause of his death.



a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his design by some extravagancies, he was thrown into prison, and there perished by a voluntary death. About the same time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the same design against the prince of Orange at Delft. The prince of Parma now made great advances upon the Flemings, had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and had laid siege to Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the sovereignty of their provinces in 1585. But this offer was rejected.

The states, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made a fresh tender to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which she should hold in this critical and important emergence. Some advised her to reject the offer of the states, and represented the imminent dangers, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of it. But others maintained a contrary opinion. Amidst these opposite counsels the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: but foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer; and shortly after concluded a league with the states on the following conditions: "That she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the states; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expences should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should, in the mean time, be consigned into her hands by way of security."

When the king of Sweden heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, he scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprizing in her natural temper: she never needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than restrained by the prudence of her ministers: but when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole force of the catholic monarch. The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He was received on his arrival at Flushing by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which

he passed expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. The states, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in some respects as their sovereign. But the queen was displeased with this artifice of the states, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and it was with some difficulty, and after many humble submissions, they were able to appease her.

America was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies: two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen engaged on board of it: Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle, commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise, in January, 1586; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed to Hispaniola, and easily making themselves masters of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helen's, two towns on the coast of Florida. He returned with so many riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries, as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprizes\*.

The enterprizes of Leicester were much less successful than those of Drake. He gained at first some advantage in an action against the Spaniards; and threw succours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: but the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all their efforts useless. He capitulated after a feeble resistance; and being tried for his conduct, suffered a capital punishment from the sentence of a court-martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the siege of Venlo, which was surrendered to him after some resistance. The fate of Nuys was more dismal; being taken by assault while the garrison was treating of a capitulation. Reimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards; and Leicester, thinking himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprize. He first attacked Doesburg, and succeeded: he then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress that he halted to its relief. He made the marquis of Guesle advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place; they were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the marquis of Gonzara, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died†. The states now became discontented with Leicester's management of the

\* It is thought that Drake's fleet first introduced the use of tobacco into England.

† This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and ele-

gant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester, was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. A person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity.



the war; and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, departed soon after for England.

Notwithstanding the war with Spain, the queen was not forgetful to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cultivate the friendship and alliance of her kinsman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Wotton as her ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negotiations; and that her chief purpose in sending him, was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake without reserve of his pleasures and amusements\*. He was admitted into all the pleasures of the king; made himself master of his secrets; and had so much the more authority with him in political transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers, who observed the growing interests of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendship; and scrupled not to sacrifice to his intrigues the most essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual jealousies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled against James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, she was apprehensive lest, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater interest and authority with the English subjects. She directed Wotton to form a secret concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to procure their promise that James, during three years, should not on any account be permitted to marry. In consequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding restitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a proposal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is said to have employed his intrigues to purposes still more dangerous. He formed, according to some, a conspiracy with several malcontents, to seize the person of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the design, but would have

been sure to retain him in perpetual thralldom, if not captivity. The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king. James's situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traitorous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negotiations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and she more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe †. By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affection of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. The insolence of some of the preachers of the protestant persuasion had at this time reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance so far, as to excommunicate the archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which restrained their seditious sermons: nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart, (meaning the late earl of Arran,) and his wife Jezabel had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen that the king himself was the great offender: and for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race ‡.

The dangers which arose from the character, principles, and pretensions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to consult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, the dictates of jealousy and politics, rather than of friendship or generosity: resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprizes which had nearly threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth: the rigour and restraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen, still impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge §, and her high spirit, concurred

with

After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wound, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine;" and resigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots struck, with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero.

\* Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France during the reign of Mary, to entice the countess, Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by mere accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister.

† It was stipulated, "That if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse, and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse, and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, the latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, as far as religion was concerned."

‡ The secretary, Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much infected with ecclesiastical affairs, and with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own course; for that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them, and drive them out of the country. "True," replied the king: "If I proposed to undo the church and religion, your counsel were

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good: but my intention is to maintain both; therefore cannot I suffer the clergy to follow such a conduct, as will in the end bring religion into contempt and derision." Spotswood, p. 348.

§ Mary's extreme animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out about this time in an incident which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in custody by the earl of Shrewsbury, she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories which, she said, the countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: that Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed: that she had been equally indulgent to Simier the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: that Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her extensive love and fondness: that though she was, on other occasions, avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few; she spared no expence in gratifying her amorous passions: that notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women; and all those who courted her marriage, would in the end be disappointed; that she was so conceited of her beauty, as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly: that it was usual for them to tell her, that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it without a fixed eye: she added that the countess had said, that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery; so ridiculous



religious zeal, and the suggestions of desperate bigots, she was at last engaged in designs which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reason for effecting her final ruin.

The English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity against the queen. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed the queen; and some of them even asserted, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprizes; and they taught that whoever perished in such pious attempts, enjoyed without dispute the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines they instigated John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics. About the same time, John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, had returned to Paris from his mission in England and Scotland; and as he had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the catholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition, the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring by force of arms the exercise of the ancient religion. The situation of affairs abroad seemed favourable to this enterprize: the pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, concurring in interests, had formed a resolution to make some attempt against England: and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic, and a devoted partizan of the queen of Scots, always maintained that so long as Elizabeth was allowed to live, it was in vain to expect any success from an enterprize upon England. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, saw more clearly the necessity of executing the design formed at Rheims: he came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue: and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby\*. Being zealously devoted to the catholic communion, Dethic had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before, and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishments and heroic virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington to make some attempts for her service; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give

him a contempt of those dangers which attended any enterprize against the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well disposed for their purpose, they sent him back to England, and secretly, unknown to himself, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a person worth engaging in her service. She wrote him a letter full of friendship and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper, and zealous in his principles, thought that these advances now bound him in honour to devote himself entirely to the service of that unfortunate princess. During some time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correspondence; but after she was put under the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced so much difficulty and danger in rendering her this service, that he had desisted from every attempt of that nature. When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished: his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprize which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. She had entertained sentiments conformable to those of Paget, and represented the folly of all attempts which, during the life time of Elizabeth, could be formed against the established religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to discover to him the designs undertaken by Savage; and was well pleased to observe that, instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough, when entrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprize. In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in encreasing the number of his associates, and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland; Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancashire; and Abington, whose father had been confederer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichborne, of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused during some time to share the glory of the enterprize with any others; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this preposterous ambition. The deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprize he engaged Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name; Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; most of them men of family and interest. The conspirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterprize;

was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms. She pretended that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper, than profligate in her manners, and absurd in her vanity: that she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick: that she had cut another across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her, that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See Murden's State Papers, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful: but the extreme fondness of Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected. Her self-conceit with regard to

beauty, we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her excellent beauties. Birch, vol. II. p. 442, 443. Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances; and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honour. See the Sydney Papers, vol. II. p. 38. The blow she gave to Essex before the privy-council is another instance. There remains in the Museum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's, in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very sorely, on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have been very amiable: but her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrollable swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

\* This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed of a plentiful fortune, had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station.

but



but they trusted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would rouse all the zealous catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state. That artful minister had engaged Maud, a catholic priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators in England; and though not entirely trusted, had obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary as well as of those zealous partizans of that prince's.

Babington and his associates, having laid such a plan as they thought promised infallible success, were impatient to communicate the design to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the matter to Paulet, and desired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants: but Paulet, averse to the introducing of such a pernicious precedent into his family, desired that they would rather think of some other expedient. Gifford found a brewer who supplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance. Ballard and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters; but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all further scruple, and conveyed by his hands the most criminal and dangerous part of their conspiracy. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical execution. Mary replied, "That she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or any insurrection." These letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Inglesfield, were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. Walsingham employed another artifice in order to obtain full insight into the plot: he subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cypher; in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The indiscretion of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins; and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins, and guard herself against their approach to her person. Meanwhile, Babington, anxious to insure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to dispatch Ballard into France; and he procured him, under a feigned name, a licence to travel. In order to

remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant was now issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: others proposed that Savage and Charnoc should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy cloaths, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to take lodgings secretly in Walsingham's house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: but observing that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examination they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed in September, of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trials; the rest were convicted by evidence.

Notwithstanding all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great surprize to her, when Sir Thomas Georges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and arrested. He chose the time for giving her this intelligence when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting; and she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay Castle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested: all her papers were seized, and sent up to the council: above sixty different keys to cyphers were discovered: there were also found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter discovery; but the persons themselves, knowing their correspondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themselves thenceforth the most inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots. It was now resolved to try Mary, not by the common statute of treason, but by the act which had passed the former year, with a view to this event; and the queen appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-counsellors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commissioners came to Fotheringay Castle, and sent to her Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and of the approaching trial. Mary received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, "that it seemed strange to her, that the queen should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects: that she was an absolute independent prince's,



princess, and would yield to nothing which might derogate either from her royal majesty, from the state of sovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her son: that, however oppressed by misfortunes, she was not yet so much broken in spirit as her enemies flattered themselves; nor would she, on any account, be accessory to her own degradation and dishonour; that she was not ignorant of the laws and statutes of England; was utterly destitute of counsel; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial: that though she had lived in England for many years, she had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction: that, notwithstanding the superiority of her rank, she was willing to give an account of her conduct before an English parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light than as men appointed to justify, by some colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that she warned them to look to their conscience and their character, in trying an innocent person; and to reflect, that these transactions would somewhere be subject to revival, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England. In return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her imprisonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. Burleigh the treasurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reasoning to make her submit; but the person whose arguments had the chief influence was Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain, who, by an artful speech, prevailed upon her to submit to her trial.

On her first appearance before the commissioners, Mary renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges; the chancellor answered her by pleading the supreme authority of the English laws over every one who resided in England: and the commissioners accommodated matters, by ordering both her protestation and his answer to be recorded. The lawyers of the crown thus opened the charge against the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that she had kept a correspondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her; and that she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty. An intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England,

if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith, an event, she there said, of which there was no expectation while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects. Even this part of the charge she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge it. She said, that she had no kingdoms to dispose of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleasure what was her own, and she was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that she had formerly rejected that proposal from Spain; but now, since all her hopes in England were gone, she was fully determined not to refuse foreign assistance. There was also produced evidence to prove that Allen and Parsons were at that very time negotiating by her orders at Rome, the conditions of transferring her English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son\*. The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. In order to prove the accusation, there were produced the following evidences: copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed, without being put to any torture, both that she received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers by her order; the confession of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the answers, and the confession of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had shewed them these letters of Mary written in the cypher, which had been settled between them. No wonder after this complication of evidence, that the queen of Scots found herself incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened by her positively affirming, that she never had had any correspondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the least question†. She asserted, "That as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence against her ought not to be credited." She confessed, however, "that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom she might safely confide." She also acknowledged Curle to be "a very honest man, but simple, and easily imposed on by Nau. If these two men had received any letters or had written any answers, without her knowledge, the imputation, she said, could never lie on her. And she was the more inclined, she added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to transact business in her name, without communicating the matter to her." Having finished the trial‡, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay Castle, and met in the star-chamber

\* It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices against her son were at this time carried so far, that she had even entered into a conspiracy against him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming catholic.

† The State Papers collected by Murden prove beyond controversy, that Mary was long in close correspondence with Babington, p. 513, 516, 532, 533. She entertained a like correspondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and had a scheme with them for an insurrection, and for the invasion of England by Spain, p. 528, 531. The same papers shew, that there had been a discontinuance of Babington's correspondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513, where Morgan recommends it to queen Mary to renew her correspondence with Babington. These circumstances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correspondence with Babington contained particulars which could not but be avowed.

‡ There passed two incidents in this trial which may be worth observing. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and

his brothers: on hearing their names, she broke into a sigh; "Alas," said she, "what has the noble house of the Howard's suffered for my sake?" She affirmed, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another: she was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham; who, she also heard, had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, rose up. He protested, that in his private capacity he had never acted any thing against the queen of Scots: in his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his sovereign's safety had made him very diligent in searching out, by every expedient, all designs against her sacred person, or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make use of the assistance of Ballard or any other conspirator; but he would also reward them for betraying their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuse him of such practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by saying that she spoke from information; and she begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to such as slandered her, than she should to such as accused him. The great character, indeed, which Sir Francis Walsingham bears for probity and honour, should remove



chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of those letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, on the 25th of October, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day, a declaration was published by the commissioners and the judges, "That the sentence did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Elizabeth pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence pronounced against her kinswoman; affected the more tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed, "That were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which she herself had received from the queen of Scots."

The queen summoned a new parliament on the 29th of October; which answered her expectations. The sentence against Mary was unanimously ratified by both houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution. She gave an ambiguous answer, full of real artifice, and seeming irresolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually exposed; she declared her willingness to die, did she not foresee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation;

she made professions of the greatest tenderness to her people; she displayed the clemency of her temper, and expressed her violent reluctance to execute the sentence against her unhappy kinswoman; she affirmed, that the late law by which that princess was tried, so far from being made to ensnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in such attempts as might expose her to the penalties with which she was thus openly menaced; and she begged them to think once again, whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration; but could find no other possible expedient. They reiterated their solicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: they even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects and children: and they affirmed, that it were injustice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly suing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. This second address set the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: she complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her uneasiness from their importunity; renewed the professions of affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of parliament, leaving them altogether uncertain as to what might be her final resolution\*. But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the

remove from him all suspicion of such base arts as forgery and subordination; arts which even the most corrupt ministers, in the most corrupt times, would scruple to employ. Hume.

\* This parliament granted the queen a supply of a subsidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again after the execution of the queen of Scots; when they passed some remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We shall give them in the words of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, p. 410, 411, which are almost wholly transcribed from Townshend's Journal. "On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, first using some speeches touching the necessity of a learned ministry, and the amendment of things amiss in the ecclesiastical estate, offered to the house a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void: and that it might be enacted, that that book of common prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be used. The book contained the form of prayer and administration of the sacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies to be used in the church; and he desired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect used this speech: For that her majesty before this time had commanded the house not to meddle with this matter; and that her majesty had promised to take order in those causes, he doubted not but to the good satisfaction of all her people, he desired that it would please them to spare the reading of it. Notwithstanding the house desired the reading of it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker desired the clerk to read. And the court being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion against the reading of it; saying, that it was not meet to be read, and it did appoint a new form of administration of the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the discredit of the book of common prayer, and of the whole state; and thought that this dealing would bring her majesty's indignation against the house, thus to enterprize this dealing with those things which her majesty especially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor spake, shewing the necessity of preaching and of a learned ministry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book should be read. To this purpose spake Mr. Hurlstone and Mr. Bainbrigg; and so, the time being passed, the house broke up, and neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majesty sent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the last session of parliament, which Mr. Speaker sent to her majesty. On Tuesday the 28th of February, her majesty sent for Mr. Speaker, by occasion whereof the house did not sit. On Wednesday the 1st day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained questions touching the liberties of the house, and to some of which he was to answer, and desired they might be read. Mr. Speaker desired him to spare his motion, until her majesty's pleasure was further known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the house; No, XLVII.

but Mr. Wentworth would not be satisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from speaking, by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the house; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the same here assembled, freely and without controlment of any person or danger of laws, by a bill or speech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatsoever, touching the service of God, the safety of the prince and this noble realm? Whether that great honour may be done unto God, and benefit and service unto the prince and state, without full speech in this council that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminish from the laws of the realm, but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not against the orders of this council to make any secret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince, or any other, concerning the high service of God, prince, or state, without the consent of the house? Whether the speaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his speech used in this house tending to any of the forenamed services? Whether the speaker may rise when he will, any matter being propounded, without consent of the house or not? Whether the speaker may over-rule the house in any matter or cause there in question, or whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and state can continue, and stand, and be maintained, without this council of parliament not altering the government of the state? At the end of these questions, says Sir Simonds D'Ewes, I found set down this short note or memorial ensuing; by which it may be perceived, both what serjeant Puckering, the speaker, did with the said questions after he had received them, and what became also of this business, viz. "These questions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and shewed Sir Thomas Henage, who so handled the matter that Mr. Wentworth went to the Tower, and the questions not at all moved. Mr. Buckler of Essex herein brake his faith in forsaking the matter, &c. and no more was done." After setting down, continues Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the said business of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal book, there follows only this short conclusion of the day itself, viz. "This day, Mr. Speaker being sent for to the queen's majesty, the house departed." On Thursday the 2d of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurlstone, and Mr. Bainbrigg, were sent for to my lord chancellor, and by divers of the privy-council, and from thence were sent to the Tower. On Saturday, the 4th day of March, Sir John Higham made a motion to this house, for that divers good and necessary members thereof were taken from them, that it would please them to be humble petitioners to her majesty for the restitution of them again to this house. To which speeches Mr. Vice-Chamberlain answered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compass of the privilege of the house, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we should give



the request of parliament in publishing it by proclamation; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people.

Lord Buckhurst, and Beale (clerk of the council) were sent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by parliament, and the earnest applications made for its execution by that assembly, who thought that their religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary was no wise dismayed at this intelligence: on the contrary, she joyfully laid hold of the last circumstance mentioned to her; and insisted, that since her death was demanded by the protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the English had often brued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns: no wonder they exercised cruelty against her, who derived her descent from these monarchs. Paulet her keeper received orders to take down her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her that she was now to be considered as a dead person; and incapable of any dignity. This harsh treatment produced not in her any seeming emotion. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and that no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it.

Mary wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence: on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her that she might be beholden for them to her own goodness alone, without making applications to those ministers who had discovered such an extreme malignity against her person and her religion. She desired, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined should never enjoy rest while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a catholic land, with the sacred reliques of her mother. In Scotland, she said, the sepulchres of her ancestors were violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requested that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution should be public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith, and of her submission to the will of Heaven. She begged that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart whithersoever they pleased, and might enjoy those legacies which she should bequeath them. And she conjured her to grant these favours, by their near kindred; by the soul and memory of Henry VII. the common ancestor of both; and by the royal dignity, of

which they equally participated. Elizabeth made no answer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and foreseeing inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against her. Besides employing L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, a creature of the house of Guise, Henry sent over Bellievre, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The interposition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated in very severe terms against the indignity of the procedure. He said, "that he was astonished to hear of the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgement and pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the blood-royal of England; but he was still more astonished to hear, that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution: that he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour which she would draw on her name by embroiling her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity, and of the same sex with herself: that in this unparalleled attempt she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own, and by reducing sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: that for his part, he must deem the injury an insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it possible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correspondence with a person who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: and that even if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this purpose of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use every effort and endure every hazard to revenge so great an indignity. Soon after James sent the matter of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications; and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified; but still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary.

James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it might please God to illuminate Mary with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refused to pollute their choruses

give consent to her majesty's farther displeasure: and therefore advised to stay until they heard no more, which could not be long: and farther he said, touching the book and the petition, her majesty had, for divers good causes, best known to herself, thought fit to suppress the same, without any farther examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majesty to give an account of her doings. But, whatsoever Mr. Vice-Chamberlain pretended, it is most probable these members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majesty had often inhibited; and which had caused so much disputation and so many meetings between the two houses the last parliament."

This is all we find of the matter in Sir Simonds D'Ewes and Townsend; and it appears that those members who had been committed, were detained in custody till the queen thought proper to release them. These questions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; because they contain some faint dawn of the present English constitution; though suddenly eclipsed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth indeed, by his puritanism, as well as his love of liberty (for these two characters arose and advanced together,) the true forerunner of the Hamdens, the Pynes, and the Hollises, who in the next age, with less courage, because with less danger, rendered their principles so triumphant.





Mary Queen of Scots receiving her Death Warrant in Totheringay Castle on the 7 of February 1587.



by prayers for a papist, and would not so much as prefer a petition for her conversion\*.

We may observe, that Elizabeth, when solicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always determined to execute the sentence against her: but when her ministers urged her to interpose no more delays, her scruples and her hesitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace such violent and sanguinary measures; and she was touched with compassion for the misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity of the unhappy prisoner. And when Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution: but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice†. The queen, affecting to be in perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half-sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. She at last called Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be imposed on, and who had lately for that very reason been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the deliverance of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal appended to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, at least for some time, executing her former orders; and when Davison came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in a perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant: if the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

The two noblemen came to Fotheringay Castle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning (February 7, 1587,) at eight o'clock. She seemed no wise terrified, though somewhat surprized, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful, and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against her person, not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of Heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to these blissful mansions." She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her

servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her; but they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience, and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, a man of great learning, should be present to instruct her in the principles of true religion; her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he plainly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs she resigned into the hands of the Almighty. When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it, to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which it was too violent for them to conceal from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, Whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretended," said she, "that I must die because I conspired against their queen's life: but the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cause of my death, than the apprehensions, which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime: the rest is only a colour, invented by interested and designing men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this solemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness. Mary's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, cloaths, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayers. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated host from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor,

\* James, unwilling or unable to punish this disobedience, and desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers should be said for his mother; and that he might at least secure himself from any insult in his own presence, he desired the archbishop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to disappoint this purpose, the clergy instigated one Couper, a young man who had not yet received holy orders, to take possession of the pulpit, when James called to him from his seat, and told him, "That the place was destined for another; yet since he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine service." The preacher replied, "That he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him." This answer sufficiently instructed James in his purpose; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper seemed not disposed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, "That this day would be a

witness against a king in the great day of the Lord;" and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner. The audience at first appeared desirous to take part with him; but the sermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane disposition.

† In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army, that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador; and that minister was obliged to leave the kingdom.



which was refused her. Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them that dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit. Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, "That she was ready;" and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her; and wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the messenger of such heavy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?" His tears prevented farther speech; and Mary too felt herself moved more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease my good servant," said she, "cease to lament: thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn: for now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected period and completion." "Know," continued she, "good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee, carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth after the water brooks." "O God," added she, "thou that art the Author of Truth, and Truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewell: once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers for thy queen and mistress." She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execu-

tion, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt by their speeches and cries to disturb both herself and the spectators: he was also apprehensive lest they should practise some superstition not meet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: for that was the instance which he made use of. "My lord," said the queen of Scots, "I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not incur any blame in any of the actions which you have named. But alas! poor souls! it would be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewell. And I hope," added she, "that your mistress being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent persisted still in his refusal, her mind, which had fortified itself against the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which she was not prepared. "I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." The commissioners, perceiving how invidious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made choice of four men and two maid-servants for that purpose. She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black; and she saw, with an undimmed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with spectators; and no one was so steeled against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved when he reflected on her royal dignity, considered the surprising train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, recalled her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but shewed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had in no wise regarded her\*.

Mary employed herself in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and pronounced aloud some petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. The earl of Kent observing that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her attachment to that popish trumpery as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with some compunction. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself;

\* Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborough stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her, that the queen of England had on this occasion shewn a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened: that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, than by repenting her former wickedness, by

justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the Scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of Heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgement was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, "Come, ye blessed of my Father;" or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." MS. in the Advocate's Library, p. 8, 9, 10, 11. Strype, vol. III. p. 285. Hume, ch. xlvii. and







and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants seeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: she turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them, and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess\*.

Thus perished, says Hume, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary, queen of Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period, very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant, and even

vehement, in her purpose, yet polite, gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay sufficiently under the guidance of discretion, she was betrayed into actions which may with some difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. Her numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions to which she had been exposed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her latter years; and such were the prevalent spirit and principles of the age, that it is the less wonder if her zeal, her resentment, and her interest uniting, induced her to give consent to a design which conspirators actuated only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life of Elizabeth†.

When Mary's execution was made known to Elizabeth, she affected the utmost surprize and indignation.

\* See Jebb, Strype, Camden, and Hume.

† King James her son, not long after coming to the crown of England, erected a magnificent tomb for her in the south aisle of Henry VIIIth's chapel, over a vault to which her body had been removed from the cathedral of Peterborough, where it had been first interred. It is raised in the form of a triumphal arch, supported by eight Corinthian pillars, under which lies her portraiture in royal robes. The frieze is adorned with the arms of the several marriages of the kings of Scotland, and the top crowned with her achievements. On several tablatures of marble round the tomb are epitaphs in Latin, of which the following are translations:

#### ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

"Sacred to the memory of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, daughter and sole heiress of James V. king of Scotland, and grand-daughter of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. (kings of England) wife of Francis II. king of France, whilst she lived certain and undoubted heiress to the crown of England, and mother of the most potent James, monarch of Great-Britain. She was descended from a truly royal and most ancient line, nearly allied by descent and consanguinity to all the greatest princes in Europe, and was abundantly adorned with the most excellent endowments of body and mind: but as all human affairs have their vicissitudes, after a confinement of about twenty years, and having struggled with resolution and fortitude, (though ineffectually,) with the malignity of calumniators, the jealousy of the fearful, and the snares of capital enemies, she was at length an unprecedented, unheard-of example with kings, brought to the block; where, with contempt of this world, triumphant in death, and fearless of the executioner, recommending her soul to Christ her Saviour, her hopes of empire and posterity to her son James, and the example of her patience to all the spectators of so bloody and mournful a scene, she piously, patiently, and intrepidly submitted her royal neck to the accursed axe, and exchanged this transitory life for a blessed eternity in Heaven, on the 8th of February, in the year of our Lord, 1587. Aged forty-six."

#### ON THE NORTH SIDE.

"In birth illustrious, or, if beauty's pride,  
A guiltless mind and faith severely try'd,  
If wisdom, fortitude, a candid breast,  
And hope in him who comforts the distress'd;  
If probity of heart, with patience mild  
To bear injurious bonds, to be revil'd;  
If goodness, majesty, a lib'ral will  
To raise the wretched, and the poor to fill,  
Could 'scape blind Fortune's thunders, that alike  
On good or bad, on low and lofty, strike;  
No. XLVII.

Thou had'st not early fall'n by being great,  
Nor thy sad image seem'd to weep thy fate.  
Scotland by right, by marriage France was thine,  
To these well-founded hope did England join,  
By triple-right a triple-crown she wears,  
But dim its lustre to a crown of stars.  
Happy, too happy, if, the storm allay'd,  
'Tho' late the neighb'ring realm had her obey'd,  
But see! she falls to triumph in the grave;  
New vigour thence, and fruits, her branches have.  
Conquer'd she conquers, free tho' close confin'd,  
Not dead though slain; the Fates her chains unbind.  
So the prun'd vine shoots forth with fertile sprays.  
And the cut gem reflects its purple rays:  
So genial seeds committed to the earth  
Rise from the fruitful soil, a brighter birth.  
With blood, God's cov'nant with man was made,  
With blood, the Patriarchs his wrath allay'd,  
With blood, the first-born 'scap'd the general doom,  
Blood stain'd the land which now is her's become.  
Oh! stay thy vengeance Heav'n for mercy's sake;  
That fatal day be ever mark'd with black:  
To murder kings abhorr'd for ever more,  
Nor Britain stain'd again with royal gore:  
Let the example perish with the blow,  
Accurs'd its author, and its actor too.  
Since in her better part she triumph's still,  
Dumb be her fate, and silent ev'ry ill.  
Such was her course as Heav'n thought fit to steer,  
She had her joys, she knew her sorrows here.  
Early to life the royal James she gave,  
Whom ev'ry kinder pow'r in keeping have.  
By nuptials great, by birth still greater known,  
And greatest in her issue, such a son;  
Here Mary lies, of whom we sighing sing,  
The daughter, wife, and mother of a king.  
Grant Heav'n, that to the latest times her race,  
Their happy hours without a cloud may pass."

#### "H. N. lamenting."

Over the cornice of this tomb at the head is part of the 21st verse of the 2d chapter of 1 Peter.

"Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps."

Over the cornice at the feet is the 23d verse of the same chapter.

"Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgest righteously."



Her countenance changed, her speech faltered; for a long time her sorrow was so deep that she could not express it, but stood fixed like a statue in silence and mute astonishment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burst out into loud wailings and lamentations; she put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counsellors dared to approach her; or if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment: they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, of which they were sufficiently appraised and acquainted. No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection, than she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, son of lord Hunsdon. She then told him, that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which she experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England: that as her pen trembled when she attempted to write it, she found herself obliged to commit the relation of it to the messenger, her kinsman; who would likewise inform his majesty of every circumstance attending this dismal and unlooked-for misfortune. And she had also told him, that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare; she hoped that he would consider every one as his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them. In order the better to appease James, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanor. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time to keep him from perishing in necessity.

Notwithstanding the rigorous treatment of Davison, Elizabeth's dissimulation was so gross, that it could deceive nobody who was not previously resolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more sincere and cordial, he discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility instigated him to take arms: lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armour, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain; to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his person and his kingdom. The queen was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear which might induce him to live in amity with her. But while Elizabeth ensured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though

he seemed to dissemble the daily insults and injuries which he received from the English, was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her; she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Drake carried out four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six great and small, with which the London merchants, in hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned from the two Dutch ships, which he met with in his passage, that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to set sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada; he bent his course to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged six galleys, which made head against him, to take shelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and naval stores; and destroyed a great ship of the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory, with three other fortresses. He next insulted Lisbon; and finding that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were discontented at these military enterprizes, he set sail for Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack which was expected in those parts. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this short expedition in which the public bore so small a share, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprizes; the English seamen learned to despise the great unwieldy ships of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed, the intended expedition against England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion.

This year Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devonshire, who had dissipated a good estate by living at court, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England\*.

During this campaign the land enterprizes of the English were not very advantageous to the nation. The important place of Deventer was entrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, loudly complained against the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was no wise calculated to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in both enterprizes; and as he ascribed his bad success to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: they slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; and the jealousy entertained against him began to extend towards the queen herself. That prince's had made some advances towards a peace with Spain: a progress had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline;



Graveline; but the two courts had no other idea, than that of amusing each other by way of negotiation. Elizabeth knew the importance of her alliance with the states, and therefore was resolved to give them entire satisfaction, by recalling Leicester, and ordering him to resign his government. Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the states governor in his place; and Peregrine, lord Willoughby, was appointed by the queen commander of the English forces: but the faction which Leicester left behind him much embarrassed these generals. As soon as Elizabeth received intelligence of these disorders, she redressed them; and obliged all the partizans of England to fall into unanimity with prince Maurice.

This year Sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor, died, and was succeeded by Sir Christopher Hatton in that important office. Though he had never followed the profession of the law, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high station: his good natural capacity supplied the place of experience and study; and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgement.

In 1588 the intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the accounts which were brought from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the prosperous state of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point on which he rested his highest glory was to support what he esteemed orthodoxy, and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands instigated him to attack the English, who had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were so well enabled to support the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels while the power of that kingdom remained entire. It was hoped that the catholics, in which England still abounded, would be ready to join any invader who should free them from those persecutions under which they laboured, and should revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another at land. Besides the acquisition of so great a kingdom, success against England ensured the immediate subjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all support, must yield their stubborn necks to that yoke which they had so long resisted. Their hopes and motives engaged Philip to undertake this hazardous enterprize; and though the prince, now created by the pope duke of Parma, opposed the attempt, it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of this ambitious project. During some time he had been secretly making preparations; but as soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were

employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought at a great expence; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans were laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: the marquis of Borgaut, a prince of the house of Austria, levied troops in Germany: the Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: the Spanish infantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readiness to be transported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk, and Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat-bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his infantry and cavalry. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain, were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus, of Savoy, don John, of Medicis, Vespasian Gongaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Paltrana, hastened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enlisted in the service. No doubts were entertained, but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful. And the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy, *THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA*.

The queen judging that this vast armament was intended to be employed against England, made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended the must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seems very unequal to resist so potent an enemy\*. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to those of that nation. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and they discovered on the present occasion great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, instead of fifteen vessels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility hired, armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. The land forces of England, compared to those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power: they were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An

\* All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thousand men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that except a few of the queen's ships of

war, there were not four vessels belonging the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons.



army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and was commanded by lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear.

Undismayed by the present dangers, the queen animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She sent Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the danger which at present menaced his sovereignty no less than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant: the ambassador found James well disposed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince kept himself prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the assistance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish harbours: the Hanse Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the same motive to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England. All the protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event, which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion: in order to inspire the English with hatred to the religion of the church of Rome, they were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: all the barbarities exercised by Mary against the protestants, were ascribed to the counsels of that bigoted and imperious nation: the bloody massacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquisition, were set before men's eyes: a list and description was published, and pictures dispersed, of the several instruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Spanish Armada was loaded: and every artifice, as well as reason, was employed to animate the people to a rigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties: but while the queen, in this critical emergence, roused the animosity of the nation against popery, she treated the partisans of that sect with moderation, and gave not way to an undistinguishing fury against them. Though she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the present pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her, had deposed her, had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had published a crusade against England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion; she would not believe that all her catholic subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and indepen-

dence of their native country. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leader of that party: she would not even confine any considerable number of them: and the catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army: some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to protestants: others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: and every rank of men, burying for the present all party distinctions, seemed to prepare themselves with order as well as vigour to resist the violence of these invaders. The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle, than survive the ruin and slavery of her people\*. By this spirited behaviour she revived the tenderness and admiration of the soldiery: an attachment to her person became a kind of enthusiasm among them; and they asked one another, Whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause; could display less fortitude than appeared in the female sex, or could ever, by any dangers, be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic princess?

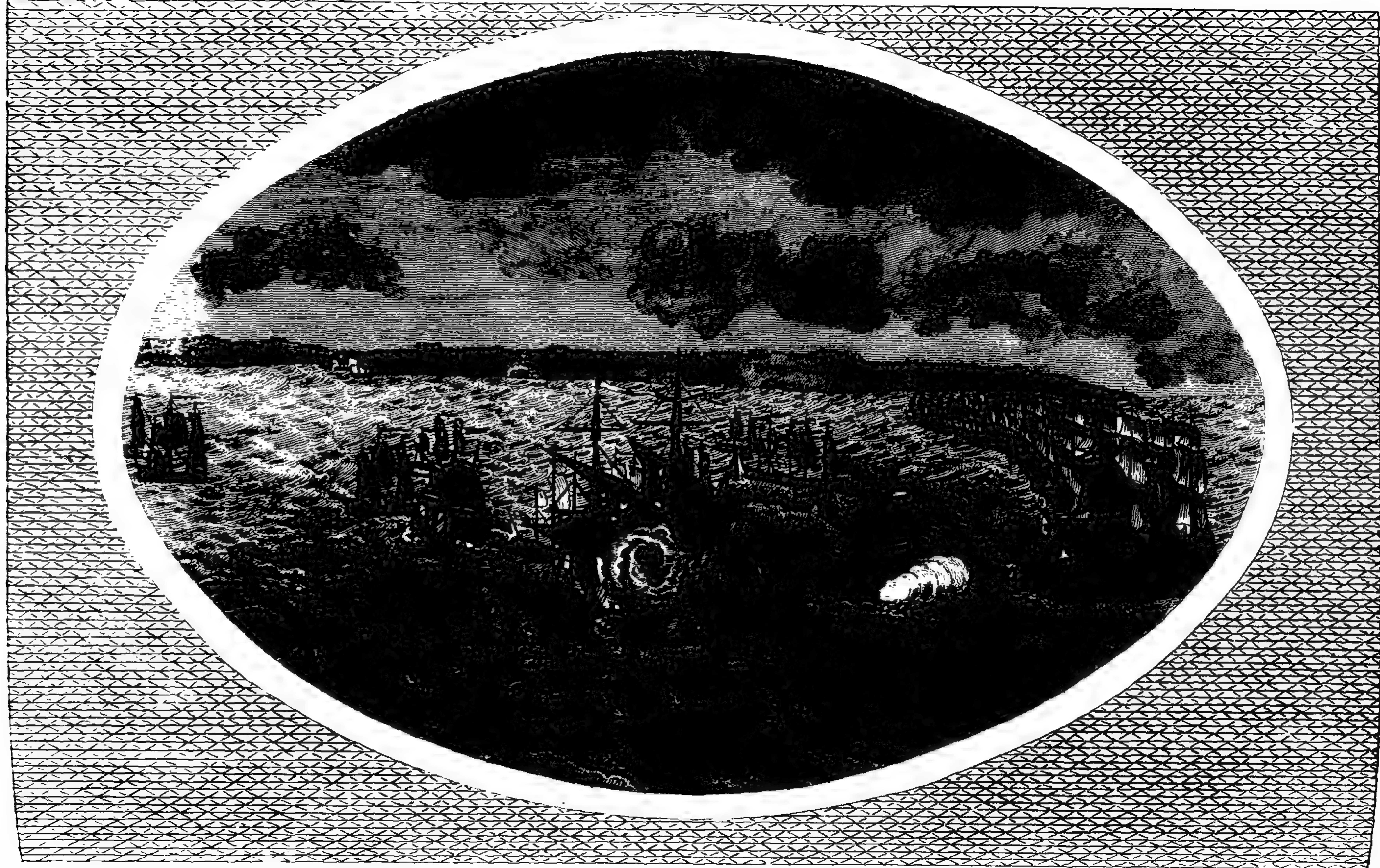
The grand Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of May, but the moment it was preparing to sail, the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a fever, of which he soon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accidents, at the very same time suffered a similar fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in sea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. His misfortune, besides the loss of so great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the sailing of the Armada, and gave the English more time for their preparations to oppose them. At last, the Spanish fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, set sail from Lisbon on the 29th of May; but next day met with a violent tempest, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and forced the rest to take shelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded that the design of an invasion was disappointed for this summer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for saving money, she made Walsingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge the seamen; but lord Effingham, who was not so sanguine in his hopes, used the freedom to disobey these orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ships in service, though it should be at his own expence. He took advantage of a north wind, and sailed towards the coast of Spain with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the south, he became apprehensive lest they might have set sail, and by passing him at sea, invade

\* The queen's speech in the camp of Tilbury was in these words: "My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king,

and a king of England too; and think soul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."



*Engraved for: A. Burton's History of England.*



*The Spanish Armada, 1588. Detail from the original painting by J. M. W. Turner.*



England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour. Meanwhile, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprize\*.

The king of Spain's plan was, that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chased away all English or Flemish vessels, which might obstruct the passage, should join themselves with the duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that in passing along the Channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he would by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and keeping in view the main enterprize, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay, to the acquisition of a kingdom. After the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who informed them, that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the tempest which scattered the Armada, and retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invasion this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the seamen. From this false intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and destroying the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted by the prospect of so decisive an advantage to break his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth: a resolution which proved the safety of England. The Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, about sun-set on the 19th of July: and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-Head, near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the English navy. They were detected by Fleming, a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas, and who immediately set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. Effingham gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, might afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada: the great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast: and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infected it with skirmishes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found, that even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir

Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after the conjunction of those ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail. The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place; in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join his forces to them. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with all combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fire-ships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

It was now become apparent, that the intention for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards, was entirely frustrated. The vessels provided by the duke of Parma were made for transporting soldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged to leave the harbour, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many rencontres, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and, making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. A violent tempest, however, overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: the ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: the mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which encompasses their islands.

Such, says Hume, was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprize which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no sooner heard of the mortifying event which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests, who had so often blest this holy Crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained

\* The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thousand, two hundred, and ninety-five soldiers; eight thousand, four hundred, and fifty-six mariners; two thousand,

and eighty-eight galley slaves; and two thousand, six hundred, and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months; and was attended by twenty lesser ships, called caravels, and ten salves, with six oars a-piece.



over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics, and an execrable usurper : but they at last discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them.

On the 4th of February, 1589, after the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, the queen summoned a new parliament ; and received from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans which had lately been imposed upon the nation. Elizabeth suspecting that this house of commons would be governed by the puritans, renewed at the beginning of the session her usual injunction, that the parliament should not on any account presume to treat of matters ecclesiastical. Notwithstanding this strict inhibition, the zeal of one Dampport moved him to present a bill to the commons for remedying spiritual grievances, and for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, which were certainly great : but when Mr. Secretary Woley reminded the house of her majesty's commands, no one durst second the motion ; the bill was not so much as read ; and the speaker returned it to Dampport without taking the least notice of it. Some members, notwithstanding the general submission, were even committed to custody on account of this attempt. In so great awe did the commons stand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durst use no freedom of speech which they thought would give the least offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby shewed in the house his extreme grief, that by some great personage, not a member of the house, he had been sharply rebuked for speeches delivered in parliament : he craved the favour of the house, and desired that some of the members might inform that great personage of his true meaning and intention in the speeches. The commons, to obviate these inconveniences, passed a vote that no one should reveal the secrets of the house.

The destruction of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprizes against Spain ; and nothing seemed now impossible to be achieved by the valour and fortune of the English. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, trusting to the aversion of his countrymen against the Castilians, had advanced a claim to the crown ; and flying first to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretensions. A design was formed by the people, not the court of England, to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio : Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, were the leaders in this romantic enterprize : near twenty thousand volunteers enlisted themselves in the service : and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expence ; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. There was more spirit and bravery, than foresight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterprize. The small stock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either provisions or ammunition sufficient for such an undertaking : they even wanted vessels to stow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them ; and they were obliged to seize by force some ships of the Hanse Towns, which they met with at sea : an expedient which set them somewhat more at ease in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their provisions. Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is believed, that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceless state of the country, might have ensured them of success : but hearing that great preparations were making at the Groine for the invasion of England, they were induced to go thither and destroy the new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned some ships of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain ; they defeated an army of four or five thousand men, which was assem-

bled to oppose them ; they assaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged ; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and provisions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Essex, a nobleman of promising hopes, fired with the thirst of military honour, had secretly, unknown to the queen, taken from England, here joined the adventurers ; and it was then agreed by common consent to make sail for Portugal, the main object of their enterprize. The English landed at Paniche, a sea-port town twelve leagues from Lisbon ; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river, and attack the city with their united forces. By this time the court of Spain had thrown forces into Lisbon : the Portuguese were disarmed : all suspected persons were taken into custody : and thus none of the inhabitants durst declare in favour of the invaders. The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds ; but as they desired to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from all plunder. Meanwhile, they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted ; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls ; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses which guarded the river ; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favour ; sickness from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wines and fruits, had seized the army : so that it was found necessary to make all possible haste to re-embark. They were not pursued by the enemy ; and finding at the mouth of the river, sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prizes, though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned ; and having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword ; and England reaped more honour than profit from the enterprize. It is computed that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters. When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward-bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ship of war which the queen had lent him. That nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some provisions ; a generosity which saved the lives of many of Drake's men ; but for which the others afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several prizes from the enemy ; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceras ; a great mortality seized the rest : and it was with difficulty that the few hands which remained were able to work the ships back to England.

The advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign ; yet she kept an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered his revolutions always of importance to her. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother ; but he had not succeeded to the favour of the catholic, which alone could render these claims dangerous ; and as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrolled authority over her subjects, it was not likely that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would give her the least disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet these circumstances could not remove her timorous suspicions. Most of his ministers and favourites were her prisoners ; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged him to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him ; and during some years she succeeded



succeeded in this malignant policy. He had fixed on the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, who being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negotiation, that the Danish monarch impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself by the prospect of issue, from those traitorous attempts, too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience, therefore, broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: the articles of marriage were settled: the ceremony was performed by proxy: and the princess embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway. This tempest, and some others which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed to put the accusation beyond all controversy. James, however, though a great believer in sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing this prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewish or a popish rite; and therefore utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and after much controversy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over the opposition of the dissatisfied ecclesiastics.

During the above transactions France was much disquieted. The French king and the duke of Guise were in a manner become rivals; and during a conference, the French monarch ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guise, to be assassinated in his palace. This cruel execution, which the necessity of it alone could excuse, had nearly proved fatal to the author; and seemed at first to plunge him into greater dangers than those which he sought to avoid by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partizans of the league were inflamed, with the utmost rage against him: the populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: the ecclesiastics and the preachers filled all places with execrations against his name: and the most powerful cities, and most opulent provinces, appeared to combine in a resolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding slender resources among his catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry: and being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled by all these means an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The desperate resolution of one man diverted the course of these great events. Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguishes this century, and a great

part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant; and being admitted, under some pretext, to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the 1st of August, 1589. The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV. but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. Henry now addressed himself to Elizabeth, and found her well disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of the Swiss and German auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds; a greater sum than, as he declared, he had ever seen before: and she sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe, in 1590. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched to Paris; and having taken the suburbs sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed this body of English in many other enterprizes; and found reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baskerville, and Sir John Berroughs, acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valour. The army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but being composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, and he gained a complete victory over them. He then blockaded Paris, and reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine: when the duke of Parma marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retreated to the Low Countries; and performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch an opportunity of giving him battle. The only loss which he sustained was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and recovered some places which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the states\*. Notwithstanding the promising situation of Henry's affairs, Elizabeth continued, in 1591, to send succours to him, and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him by some advantages gained by the king of Spain.

A plan had been projected for the invasion of Brittany, but the king of France found it necessary to lay aside their enterprize; and therefore persuaded the English commanders to join his army, and to take a share in the hostilities which he carried into Picardy. Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth received from this disappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and persuaded her to send over a new body of four thousand men to assist him in that enterprize. The earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Eliza-

\* This year the nation suffered a great loss, by the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had passed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expence, yet died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, first married

to Sir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Essex, favourite of queen Elizabeth; and lastly, to the earl of Clancarde of Ireland. The same year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in several embassies to Scotland; and did also the earl of Warwick, elder brother to Leicester.



beth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. Not long after his arrival the French king led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Rouen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprize with his usual abilities and success; and, for the present, frustrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. Notwithstanding the indifferent success of former enterprizes, the queen was sensible how necessary it was to support Henry against the league and the Spaniards; and she formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common consent; she promised to send him a new supply of four thousand men: and he stipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Brittany, and to consign into her hands a seaport town of that province, for a retreat to the English. This campaign was the least successful of all those which he had carried on against the league.

During these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. She sent a squadron of seven ships, under the command of lord Thomas Howard for this service; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpose, fitted out a great force of fifty-five sail, and dispatched them to escort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the English squadron; and, by the courageous obstinacy of Sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refused to make his escape by flight, they took one vessel, the first English ship of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards\*. The rest of the squadron returned safely into England; frustrated of their expectations, but pleasing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the English, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck, before they reached the Spanish harbours. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his interest to decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he persuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the West Indies in 1592. The fleet was detained so long in the Chan-

nel by contrary winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Frobisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the island of Flores, and destroyed another. About the same time, Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgencies†.

Though this war did great damage to Spain, it was attended with considerable expence to England; and Elizabeth's ministers computed, that since the commencement of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million, two hundred thousand pounds. She summoned a parliament in February, 1593, in order to obtain a supply: but she either thought her authority so established that she needed to make them no concession in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money: for there never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated‡. Peter Wentworth, however, ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented to the lord-keeper a petition, in which he desired the upper house to join with the lower in a supplication to her majesty for entailing the succession of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpose. Hereupon she sent Wentworth to the Tower; committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet prison, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the house, to petition the queen for the release of these members; but it was answered by all the privy-counsellors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to serve: she would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion, than from their suggestion. The house willingly acquiesced in this reasoning. So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the session, might well repress all farther attempts for freedom: but the religious zeal of the puritans was not so easily restrained; and it inspired a courage which no human motive was able to surmount. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishop's courts, but above all, in the high commission; where subscrip-

\* This action of Sir Richard Grenville is so singular as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, which had ten thousand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. In the beginning of the action he himself received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to want powder; all their small arms were broken or become useless: of this number, which were but a hundred and three at first, forty were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; their masts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution, but others opposed it, and obliged Grenville to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days after; and his last words were: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour: my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved

as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp, though unequal action, four ships, and about a thousand men. And Grenville's vessel perished soon after with two hundred Spaniards in her. Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. 11. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 555.

† This commodity was useless to the English, but it had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

‡ When the speaker, Sir Edward Coke, made the three usual requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her person, and of liberty of speech, she replied to him by the mouth of Puckering, lord-keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the commons, but they must know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh into his brain to utter: their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of yea or no: that she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of their own safety as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider of these things, and could better judge of them: that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons; but they must beware lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: and that she would not refuse them access to her person, provided it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, and when she might have leisure from other important affairs of the realm.

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tions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own condemnation; and where every one who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners was imprisoned, without relief or remedy. The queen was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited in the house: and that, in particular, she charged the speaker upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was submitted to without farther question. Morrice was seized in the house itself by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury Castle. The queen having thus expressly pointed out both what the house should and should not do, the commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed a law entitled, an act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience\*, against recusants; such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the persecuting spirit of the age. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics. The commons, notwithstanding the queen's haughty behaviour, readily voted two subsidies and four fifteenths; but this sum not appearing sufficient to the court, an unusual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their concessions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their assent to the supply voted, thinking it too small for the queen's occasions: they therefore proposed a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths; and desired a farther conference in order to persuade the commons to agree to this measure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of subsidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at first absolutely rejected the proposal: but being afraid, on reflection, that they had by this refusal given offence to their superiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional subsidy. The queen notwithstanding this unusual concession of the commons, ended the session with a speech, containing some reprimands to them, and full of the same high pretensions which she had assumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper, that certain members spent more time than was necessary, by indulging themselves in harangues and reasonings: and she expressed her displeasure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy-counsellors, "who," she told them, "were not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the house, who are counsellors but during the parliament: whereas the others were standing counsellors, and for their wisdom and great service are called to the council of the state." The queen also, in her own person, made the parliament a spirited harangue; in which the force of the justice and moderation of her government, expressed the small ambition she had ever entertained of making conquests, displayed the just grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and discovered how little she apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort against her than that of the invincible Armada.

The king of France, though he had gained several advantages, was become sensible that he never could by force of arms alone render himself master of his kingdom. The nearer he seemed by his military successes

to approach to a full possession of the throne, the more discontent and jealousy arose among those Romanists who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect some catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry should any longer refuse to satisfy them by declaring his conversion.

All circumstances being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates of his party into the bosom of the church. Elizabeth, who was herself attached to the protestants, chiefly by her interests and the circumstances of her birth, and who seems to have entertained some propensity during her whole life to the catholic superstition, at least to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies; continued her succours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common consent.

The intrigues of the Spanish court were not confined to France and England: by means of their never-failing pretence of religion, Philip excited new disorders in Scotland, and gave fresh alarm to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was passing secretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conspiracy of some catholic nobleman with Philip was discovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spanish monarch: and had stipulated to raise all their forces; to join them to a body of Spanish troops, which Philip promised to send into Scotland; and after re-establishing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power in order to effect the same purpose in England. Graham of Fintry, who had also entered in this conspiracy, was taken, arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth sent lord Borough ambassador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exercise the same severity on the three earls, to confiscate their estates, and by annexing them to the crown, both increase his own demesnes, and set an example to all his subjects of the dangers attending treason and rebellion. James applied to Elizabeth for assistance; but so far was she from giving him any aid, that she rather contributed to increase his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent disposition of the earl of Bothwell, a nobleman descended from a natural son of James V. Bothwell more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traitorous enterprizes, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king; and, by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed dishonourable terms upon that prince: but James, by the authority of the convention of states, annulled this agreement, as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwell; and obliged him to take shelter in England. Elizabeth pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed these treaties, by which she was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scotland. During these disorders the prosecution of the catholic earls remained in suspense; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, in 1594, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commission,

\* It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that if after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in  
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his refusal, he must adjure the realm, and that if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he should suffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy.



found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed on certain terms to leave the kingdom. Bothwell, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter first in France, then in Italy, where he died in great poverty.

The queen's established authority secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traitorous and perfidious machinations as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments\*. Instead of avenging herself by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable vengeance by supporting the king of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution.

In 1595, the French king, who had long carried on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces, and sent Norris, who commanded her troops in Brittany, to take the lead of those in Ireland. Finding also, that the French league was almost dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought that he could well support himself by his own force and valour; and she began to be more sparing in his cause of the blood and treasure of her subjects. Some disgusts which she had received from the states, joined to the remonstrances of Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charges on that side; and she even demanded, in 1596, by her ambassador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The states, besides alledging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace, pledged their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war; much more in saving money to discharge their incumbrances. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed; by which the states engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, on finishing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment should be in lieu of all demands, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England. The queen, however, retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the states; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and favour with herself, the queen thought proper to give him a refusal. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assistance were formed by

the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed. This body of English were maintained at the expence of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the English, in so many fortunate enterprizes undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained in 1597 by prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney had acquired honour; and the success of that day was universally ascribed to their valour.

It having been suggested, that Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England, a powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, which consisted of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war; the rest tenders and small vessels: twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand, three hundred, and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-two seamen, besides the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex: the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament: for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral. The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, 1596; and meeting with a fair wind bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They put before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant-ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprize. After a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's on the western side of the island of Cadiz; it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash; and the admiral himself, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great scruples with regard to it: but Essex strenuously recommended the enterprize; and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea, and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot the promise which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midst of the fleet; he broke through and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animosity against the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was soon obliged to slip anchor and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men at the fort of Punta; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, made him stop the slaughter, and treat his

\* Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil

his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious.



prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness. The English made rich plunder in the city; but missed of a much richer by the resolution which the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took of setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprize amounted to twenty millions of ducats; besides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people suffered from the sacking of one of their chief cities, and destroying in their harbour a fleet of such force and value. Essex all on fire for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to future achievements: he insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; and he undertook with four hundred men and three months provisions, to defend the place till succours should arrive from England: but all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honour which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his scheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for assaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebastian, and the English finding it so difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast, attended by a very few ships. He complained much to the queen of their want of spirit in this enterprize; nor was she pleased that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet; but the great success in this enterprize of Cadiz, had covered all their miscarriages: and that princess, though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, could not forbear expressing an esteem for the other officers. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex\*. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither with a view of making a descent in Ireland, was resolved to prevent their enterprize, and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers: she embarked on board this fleet five thousand new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands†. This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth on the 9th of July, 1597; but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and before they could be refitted Essex found that their provisions were so far spent, that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed therefore all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; which had at first been considered only as the second enterprize which he was to attempt. The Indian fleet in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course as well as season, both in their going out and in their

return; and there were certain islands at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores being one of these places where about this time the fleet was expected, Essex bent his course thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should by farther delay have leisure to make preparations for their defence‡. Essex made next a disposition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and Sir William Monson, whose station was the most remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the signals which had been agreed on. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to the Terceras, and got into the safe and well fortified harbour of Angra, before the English fleet could overtake them. Three ships were only intercepted, but these were so rich as to pay all the charges of the expedition. The causes of the miscarriage in this enterprize were much canvassed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently, as they effected either Essex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favours with an impartial hand between the parties.

The Spanish war, though successful, had exhausted the queen's exchequer, so that on the 24th of October, she assembled a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was chosen speaker of the house of commons. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply. She said, "That the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at most a province, from each other; but the object of the present hostilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: that these blessings, however, she herself had hitherto been able to preserve, in spite of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies: that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her; and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands; and that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence." The parliament granted her three subsidies and six fifteenths; the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual, that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent. An application was made this session, by way of petition,

\* In the preamble of the patent it was said, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships; a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself: and he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

† The earl of Essex, commander in chief both of the land and sea-forces, was at the head of one squadron; lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third; lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Essex; Vere was appointed marshal; Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Gray, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other persons of distinction, embarked as volunteers. Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada which threatened

England, or to perish in the attempt.

‡ He succeeded in the enterprize; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: he cashiered therefore Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, had not lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Raleigh, though high-spirited, to make submissions to the general. Essex, who was placable as well as hasty and passionate, was soon appeased, and both received Raleigh into favour, and restored the other officers to their commands. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.



to the queen from the lower house, against monopolies; an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general answer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgements. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal." The commons also took notice of some transactions in the court of high commission; but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose.

In 1598 Philip made an overture for peace to Henry; but before he would proceed to a negotiation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the states; that if possible a general pacification might be made by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France in order to remonstrate against peace. From the behaviour and speeches of Henry, the ambassadors were sensible of his sincerity, and they therefore remonstrated with the less vehemence against the measures which they saw Henry was determined to pursue. The states knew that that monarch was interested never to permit their final ruin; and having received private assurances that he would still, notwithstanding the peace, give them assistance both of men and money, they were well pleased to remain on terms of amity with him. His greatest concern was to give satisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry was obliged to conclude at Vervins a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

\* Essex was deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received; and seemed to think, that an insult which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. The following letter was written by him to Egerton on the subject:

“ My very good lord : Though there is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner make judge of any question that might concern me than yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges : and if any, then surely in this, when the highest Judge on earth has imposed on me the heaviest punishment, without trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your lordship's argument, or else forsake mine own just defence, I will force mine aching head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontent ; and that it was unseasonable, or is of so long continuing, your lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate : natural seasons are expected here below ; but violent and unseasonable storms come from above : there is no tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince ; nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect a harvest of their careful and painful labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt is cured, or the part hurt become senseless : but cure I expect none, her majesty's heart being obdurate against me ; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may aim at the end : I do more than aim ; for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for my enemies ? When I was at court I found them absolute ; and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariot. Or do I leave my friends ? When I was a courtier I could yield them no fruit of my love unto them ; and now that I am a hermit they shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself ? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down ? Or do I ruin mine honour, because I leave following the pursuit,

Elizabeth was now advised by some of her counsellors to embrace pacific measures ; and they set before her the advantages of tranquillity, security, and frugality, as more considerable than any success which could attend the greatest victories. But she was elated with her various victories and the prospect of future successes : and she well knew, that if she should consent to an accommodation, that Philip would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates : and that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe as well as dishonourable to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security. These reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalry between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel ; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. About this time the queen and Essex had a dispute concerning the choice of a governor for Ireland, when he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility ; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger rose at this provocation ; and she instantly gave him a blow on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submission due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself ; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion, by proper acknowledgements ; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country \*. Notwithstanding the spirited letter which Essex wrote and shewed to his friends,

or wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him? Or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord, I give every one of these considerations its due weight, and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my sovereign; I answer, that if my country had at this time any need of my public service, her majesty, that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my country by two bonds; one public, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcase which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed, discharged, and disabled by her majesty: of the other, nothing can free me but death; and therefore no occasion of my performance shall sooner offer itself but I shall meet it half way. The indissoluble duty which I owe unto her majesty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never have, nor never can fail in: the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe her majesty the duty of an earl, and of lord marshal of England. I have been content to do her majesty the service of clerk; but I can never serve her as a villain or slave. But yet you say, I must give way unto the time. So I do, for now that I see the storm come, I have put myself into the harbour. Seneca saith, we must give way to fortune: I know that fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of her way. You say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say, I must yield and submit; I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor allow the imputation laid upon me to be just: I owe so much to the Author of all Truth, as I can never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to be truth. Have I given cause, you ask; and yet take a scandal when I have done? No; I gave no cause, not so much as *Pimbria's* complaint against me; for I did *Acton*  
tel.





*The Earl of Essex laying his hand on his sword on being struck by Queen Elizabeth.*

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friends, who imprudently dispersed copies of it, the queen's partiality for him was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about the same time, seemed to ensure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit \*.

The last public act of lord Burleigh was the concluding a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in some measure deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was settled at eight hundred thousand pounds: of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist Elizabeth with a body of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to her's. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Shortly after the death of Burleigh, intelligence arrived in England, that Philip II. Elizabeth's greatest enemy, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess could have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the states, considering this deed only as the change of a name, persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, operated against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

Notwithstanding the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may be safely affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal: the Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapsed still into their former independence. The small army which the English maintained in Ireland, were never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish introducing

despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people: but the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and ever ranked them as aliens, and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untainted barbarity, they grew every day more untractable and more dangerous †. As the English princes deemed the conquest of the Irish to be more an object of time than a source of military glory, they delegated that office to private adventurers, who, enlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed: military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued; and by degrees over the English, by whose assistance they conquered: and, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother country ‡.

By this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependant state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of any other class of people §.

The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year: the queen though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England: and with this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported; which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand. This small force rather tended to inflame than subdue the Irish.

In 1560, Shan O'Neale, the head of a powerful clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but being pushed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than submit to the English, he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him ||. The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave Sir Henry

*Idem corpore recipere*: receive the whole sword into my body. I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all that I then received when this scandal was given me," &c.

\* Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister.

† Sir J. Davies, p. 102, & seqq.

‡ Sir J. Davies, p. 133, & seqq.

§ The animosity against the English was carried so far by No. XLVIII.

the Irish, that in an insurrection raised by two sons of the earl of Claricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practised by their ancestors.

|| He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the English nation. He is said to have put some of his followers to death because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread after the English fashion. Though so violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accustomed after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire that he might allay the flame which he had roused by



Henry Sidney great disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, descended from the only family established in Ireland, that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connanght, but was obliged to fly into France before his design was ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory XIII. that he flattered that Pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagne, king of Ireland; and as if their project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing the high promises he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

After some interval, Lord Gray succeeded to the government of Ireland; and in 1579 suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Rourks followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals. The queen, finding Ireland so burthenome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures; but that enterprize proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper, occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants. But the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made use of in 1585, by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: he put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested. At the same time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars: and thus Ireland being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English; and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters. Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity; and he fomented all those disorders by which hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty; and was also eminent for courage. Tyrone secretly fomented the discontents of the Macguises, O'Donnells, O'Rourks, Mac-Mahons, and other rebels; yet, trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the

hands of Sir William Russel, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain: he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition; and having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy. Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, by reason of the disadvantages under which he laboured, willingly hearkened to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treachery, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-Water, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally catching fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the field\*.

The Irish rebellion having risen to so great a head, it was resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man endowed with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing for that important employment, some person more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and representation. By this description, he was understood to mean himself; and Elizabeth readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord-lieutenant†. And to ensure him of success, she levied a numerous army of sixteen thousand foot, and thirteen thousand horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. Essex left London in March 1599, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. The first act of authority which he exercised after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiscretion, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects suitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience than she reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined that some reasons which he opposed to her first injunction had satisfied her, had the imprudence to remonstrate against these second orders; and it was not till she reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend. Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprize. He had always

former excesses. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who scorned the title of earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have restored to him, and who assumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulster. He used also to say, that though the queen was his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her seeking. *Hume.*

\* This victory, so unusual to the Irish, raised their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the repu-

tation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the Deliverer of his Country, and Patron of Irish Liberty.

† The more to encourage him in his undertaking, she granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments of the kingdom.

while



while in England blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who harassed their troops in small enterprizes, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces. In conformity to these views, he had ever insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counsellors persuaded him that the season was too early for the enterprize, and that as the morasses in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not as yet be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Their secret reason for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy dislodged from their neighbourhood: but the same selfish spirit which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended. Essex obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: but as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even to exterminate them, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become sickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the soldiers was even much abated: for though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprizes against lord Cahir and others; yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise: and as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at this misbehaviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men. But this act of severity, though necessary, had intimidated the soldiers, and increased their aversion to the service. Elizabeth was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprizes, and was still more surprized that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and when he knew to be so much contrary to her purpose and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a small body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie against the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a submission: but, on his return to Dublin, he found his army so much diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of its condition, and informed them, that if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprize, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted; and Essex found, that after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible, that in so advanced season, it would be impossible for

him to effect any thing against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpose. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle: but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission to the lord lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the 1st of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions: and there happened afterwards some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy. This dishonourable conclusion of the campaign extremely provoked Elizabeth against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and counsel, full of peevish and impatient expressions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him, and discovering symptoms of a mind equally haughty and discontented. Elizabeth took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders. Essex soon heard of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, an office to which he himself aspired: and dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he hastily embraced a resolution of returning to England; and by speedy journies he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprized of his intentions. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened upstairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private conference with her; where he was so graciously received that, on his departure, he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God, that though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. But this placability of Elizabeth was the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: Upon recollection, however, all his faults recurred to her; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty imperious spirit, who had pretended to domineer in her councils, and to act, in the most important affairs, without regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: she ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of lord-keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his counsellors, nor was the intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of resentment: he professed an entire submission to the queen's will, declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and business: but though he affected to be so entirely cured of his aspiring ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a distemper which seemed to put his life in danger\*. The medicine which

\* The queen had always declared, that the purpose of his severity was to correct, not to ruin him, and when he heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation.

She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation and experience to consult of his case; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some



which the queen administered to these aspiring rivals was successful with both; and in the beginning of 1660 Essex, being now allowed the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored in his health, as to be thought past danger. A belief was instilled into Elizabeth, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeited, in order to move her compassion; and she relapsed into her former rigour against him. He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on New Year's Day; as was usual with the courtiers at that time: she read the letter, but rejected the present. After some interval, however, of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own house\*. The countess of Essex, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, possessed, as well as her husband, a refined taste in literature; and the chief consolation which Essex enjoyed during this period of anxiety and expectation, consisted in her company, and in reading with her those instructive and entertaining authors, which even during the time of his greatest prosperity he had never entirely neglected.

Elizabeth became more and more incensed against Essex from the accounts she received almost daily from Ireland. She appointed Mountjoy lord-deputy; and that nobleman found the island almost in a desperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was so little discouraged, that he immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief seat of the rebels: he fortified Derry and Mount Norris, in order to bridle the Irish: he chased them from the field, and obliged them to shelter in the woods and morasses; he employed, with equal success, Sir George Carew in Munster: and by these promising enterprizes, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that island. As the comparison of Mountjoy's administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, she received additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies: and his popularity, which was always great, seemed rather to be increased than diminished by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to justify her conduct with regard to him, often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the star-chamber for his offence: but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He displayed in the strongest colours, all the faults committed by Essex in his administration of Ireland. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge with displaying the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl. When Essex came to plead in his own defence, he renounced all pretensions to an apology; and declared his resolution never to have any contest with his sovereign. His submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a

manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. All the privy-councillors, in giving their judgement made no scruple of doing the earl justice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the sentence pronounced by the lord-keeper, (to which the council assented,) was in these words: "If this cause," said he, "had been heard in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been for a great a fine as ever was set on any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that prison which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence."

Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary: but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his protection. But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor-general; and in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council, against so munificent a benefactor; though he had acted in obedience to the queen's commands: but she was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the public of the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmness of character more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex; and, in particular, pointed out, in elaborate expressions, the dutiful submission which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself.

It was generally expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit. They were confirmed in this hope when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him. Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: he wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him, but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment: and that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country

some broth, and desired that physician to deliver him a message which she probably deemed of still greater virtue; that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. The by-standers, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked that in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears. When the symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave a sensible alarm to the faction which had declared their opposition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the most violent as well as the most ambitious of his enemies, was so affected with the appearance of this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was

obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and to send him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery.

\* Though he remained still under custody, and was sequestered from all company, he was so grateful for this mark of lenity, that he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion. "This farther degree of goodness," said he, "doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words, 'Die not, Essex; for though I punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.' My prostrate soul makes this answer: 'I hope for the blessed day. And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me.'"

solitude,



solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of Heaven; till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting she should now make experiment of his submission; that her father would never have pardoned so much obstinacy; but that if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistry. The earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe, and being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this farther trial, before he could again be safely received into favour. She therefore denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, "That an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender." This rigour proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the queen herself. Essex, who had with great difficulty so long subdued his proud spirit, and whose patience was not exhausted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burst at once all restraints of submission and of prudence, and determined to seek relief by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. Even during his greatest favour he had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his sovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method of managing her. Being now reduced to despair, he threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increase the general good-will by an hospitable manner of life, little suited to his situation and circumstances. His former employments had given him great connections with men of the military profession; and he now entertained a friendship with all desperate adventurers, whose attachment he hoped might, in his present views, prove serviceable to him. He secretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he

openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house; he had daily prayers and sermons in his family; and he invited many to attend those pious exercises. But the greatest imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openness of his temper. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen, that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. Some court ladies, whose favours Essex had formerly neglected, carried her these stories, and incensed her against him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though she was now approaching to her seventieth year, she allowed her courtiers and even foreign ambassadors, to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity\*. There was also an expedient employed by Essex, which was more provoking to the queen than those sarcasms on her age and deformity; and that was, his secret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and successor. That prince had this year very narrowly escaped a dangerous, though ill-formed, conspiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that the obstinate ecclesiastics persisted, in spite of the most incontestible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no such conspiracy. He negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to ensure himself friends and partizans in his succession to the crown of England, which Elizabeth's advanced age made him look to with more earnestness: he even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than was at present indulged them. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of succession.

Essex was descended by the female line from the royal family; and some of his sanguine partizans had been so imprudent as to mention his name among those of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he secretly sent into Scotland, to assure James, that so far from entertaining such ambitious views, he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Essex intended to employ. Essex had communicated his scheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a person of that virtue and prudence

\* Most of queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and desire towards her, and addressed themselves to her in the style of passion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it shewn to the queen: "My heart was never broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years, with so great love and desire, in so many journies, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! Once a mistress hath bereaved me of all. O glory that only shineth in misfortune! What is become of thy assurance? All wounds have scars but that of phantasy: all affections their relenting, but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship but adversity; or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude,  *spes & fortuna valet* , she is gone in whom I trusted; and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of  
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that which was. Do with me now therefore what you list. I am more weary of life, than they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born." Murden, p. 657. It is to be remarked that this nymph, Venus! goddess! angel! was then about sixty! Yet five or six years after she allowed the same language to be held to her. Sir Henry Unton, her ambassador in France, relates to her a conversation which he had with Henry IV. The monarch, after having introduced Unton to his mistress, the fair Gabrielle, asked him how he liked her? "I answered sparingly in her praise," said the minister, "and told him, that if, without offence, I might speak of it, I had the picture of a far more excellent mistress; and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty. As you love me, said he, shew it me if you have it about you. I made some difficulties; yet, upon his importunity, offered it to his view very secretly, holding it still in my hand: he beheld it with passion and admiration, saying that I had reason,  *je me rends* , protesting that he had never seen the like; so, with great reverence, he kissed it twice or thrice, I detaining it still in my hand. In the end, with some kind of contention, he took it from me, vowing that I might take my leave of it; and he would not forego it for any treasure: and that to possess the favour of the lively picture, he would forsake all the world, and hold himself most happy; with many other most passionate speeches." Murden, p. 718. For farther particulars on this head, see the ingenious author of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, article Essex.



to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her successor. And such was Essex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mountjoy not to desist from the project: but the deputy, who thought that such violence, though it might be prudent, and even justifiable, when supported by a sovereign prince next heir to the crown, would be rash and criminal, if attempted by subjects, absolutely refused his concurrence. The correspondence, however, between Essex and the court of Scotland was still conducted with great secrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, besides conciliating the favour of James, represented all his own adversaries as enemies to that prince's succession, and as men entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, and partizans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

The arch-duke Albert and the Infanta had made some advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was chosen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the English resident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were sent thither as ambassadors from England; and negotiated with Zuniga, Carillo, Richardot, and Verheiken, ministers of Spain, and the arch-duke: but the conferences were soon broken off by disputes with regard to the ceremonial. During the preparations for this abortive negotiation, the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurst, treasurer; and secretary Cecil, had discovered their inclination to peace; but as the English nation, flushed with success, and sanguine in their hopes of plunder and conquest, were in general averse to that measure, it was easy for a person so popular as Essex, to infuse into the multitude an opinion, that these ministers had sacrificed the interests of their country to Spain, and would even make no scruple of receiving a sovereign from that hostile nation. But Essex, not content with these arts for decrying his adversaries, proceeded, in 1601, to concert more violent methods of ruining them; chiefly instigated by Cuffe, his secretary, a man of a bold and arrogant spirit, who had acquired a great ascendant over his patron\*. Among other criminal projects Essex deliberated with the malcontents concerning the method of taking arms; and asked their opinion whether he had best begin with seizing the palace or the Tower, or set out with making himself master at once of both places. The first enterprize being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed, that Sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace gates; and Davies should seize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partizans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should, with common consent, settle a new plan for the regulation of affairs†.

During these deliberations, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Sir Robert Sackville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sackville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at

least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new and more severe confinement: he therefore excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition; and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. Essex declared against the first expedient, and professed himself determined to undergo any fate rather than submit to live the life of a fugitive. To seize the palace seemed impracticable, without more preparations; especially as the queen seemed now aware of their project, and, as they heard, had used the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themselves to the city; and, while the prudence and feasibility of this resolution was under debate, a person arrived, who, as if he had received a commission for the purpose, gave them assurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might securely rest any project on that foundation. The wild project of raising the city was immediately resolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were dispatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance. Next day, February 8, there appeared at Essex-house the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Montague, with about three hundred gentlemen of quality and fortune; and Essex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies exposed him. The queen was informed of his designs; and having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper to Essex-house, with the earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, comptroller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their servants were excluded except the purfearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn, by the angry multitude who surrounded them; the earl, who found that matters were past recall, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life;" and thence proceeded to the house of Smith the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one shewed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house. He found the streets in the passage barricaded and guarded by the citizens under the command of Sir John Levingston. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman to

\* A select council of malcontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-house, and were composed of Sir Charles Davers, to whom the house belonged, the earl of Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Essex, who boasted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of

note at his devotion, and who trusted still more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his associates these secret designs with which his confidence in so powerful a party had inspired him.

† Camden, p. 690. Birch's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 464. State Trials. Bacon, vol. IV. p. 542. 543. whom



whom he bore great friendship, was killed with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himself, attended by a few of his partizans, retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex-house. He there found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to despair; and appeared determined, in prosecution of lord Sandys's advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to perish, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than basely by the hands of the executioners: but after some parley, and after demanding in vain, first hostages, then conditions, from the besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment; and a fair and impartial hearing.

On the 19th of February the earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurst acted as lord steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: the concessions of the earl of Rutland; of the lords Cromwell, Sandys, and Monteagle; of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. Essex's best friends were scandalized at his assurance in insisting so positively on his innocence, and the goodness of his intentions; and still more at his vindictive disposition, in accusing, without any appearance of reason, secretary Cecil as a partizan of the Infanta's title. The secretary, who had expected this charge, stepped into the court and challenged Essex to produce his authority, which on examination was found extremely weak and frivolous. When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death: but he added, that he should be sorry if he were represented to the queen as a person that despised her clemency; though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and submissive: he entreated the good offices of the peers in so modest and becoming a manner as excited compassion in every beholder\*. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude of a loathsome prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion; a principle which he had before attempted to make the instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and consideration. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of Heaven unless he made a full confession of his disloyalty; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scots. He spared not even his most intimate friends, such as lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in these conspiracies; and he sought to pacify his present remorse by making such atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blameable than those attempts themselves which were the objects of his penitence. The queen, however, could not easily persuade herself to permit his execution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion, the care of her own

safety and concern for her favourite; and her situation; during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity than that to which Essex himself was reduced; she signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her, that he himself desired to die, and assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived: it is likely that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him, was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution (February 25) was private in the Tower, agreeably to his own request†. He was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper sentiment which he could indulge. And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye‡. Some of Essex's associates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were tried and condemned, and all of these, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest; being persuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendship to that nobleman, and their care of his safety; and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions.

Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty; but he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

James, king of Scots, apprehensive lest this correspondence with Essex might have been discovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, sent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloss as ambassadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. They were also ordered to make secret enquiry whether any measures had been taken by her for excluding him from the succession, as well as to discover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's demise. They found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish; and they even entered into a correspondence with secretary Cecil, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was now uncontrolled, and who was resolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the successor. And James, by Cecil's advice, resolved to give Elizabeth no uneasiness, but to wait patiently for the crown of the realm. The French king, who was little prepossessed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland, made his ambassador drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for disappointing the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil shewed an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France took no farther steps in that matter; and thus the only foreign power which could give much disturbance to James's succession, was induced to acquiesce in it. Henry made a journey this summer to Calais; and the queen hearing of his intentions went to

\* The most remarkable circumstance in Essex's trial was Bacon's appearance against him. He was not one of the crown lawyers; so was not obliged by his office to assist at this trial: yet did he not scruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whose generosity he had often experienced. He compared Essex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adversaries, to that of Pisistratus the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and making the people believe that his enemies had committed the violence, obtained a guard for his person, by whose assistance he afterwards subdued the liberties of his country.

† The earl of Essex was only in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

‡ Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured; it was thought that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology which he could make for so ungenerous conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animosity with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented, were still regarded as the principles of his unmanly behaviour.



Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and respected. The king of France, who felt the same sentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote successively two letters to Henry, one by Edmond, another by Sir Robert Sydney; in which she expressed a desire of conferring, about a business of importance, with some minister in whom that prince reposed entire confidence. The marquis of Rosni, the king's favourite and prime minister, came to Dover in disguise; and the memoirs of that able statesman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princess had formed a scheme for establishing, in conjunction with Henry, a new system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new states on the ruins of the house of Austria. She had even the prudence to foresee the perils which might ensue from the aggrandizement of her ally; and she proposed to unite all the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier against the dangerous increase of the French as well as of the Spanish monarchy. Henry had himself long meditated such a project against the Austrian family; and Rosni could not forbear expressing his astonishment, when he found that Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communicated their sentiments on this subject, not only had entered into the same general views, but had also formed the same plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a situation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterprize; and Rosni satisfied the queen, that it would be necessary to postpone for some years their united attack on the house of Austria. He departed, filled with much admiration at the solidity of Elizabeth's judgement, and the greatness of her mind; and he owns, that she was entirely worthy of that high reputation which she enjoyed in Europe.

The queen was now persuaded by some of her courtiers, that the money sent to Ireland for the payment of her troops must, in the course of circulation, get into the possession of the Irish, by which means they would be enabled to purchase arms in order to oppose the progress of the English forces. To obviate this disaster, Elizabeth, though she justly valued herself on fixing the standard of the English coin, was seduced by the arguments employed on this occasion; and she coined a great quantity of base money, which she made use of in the pay of her soldiers in Ireland. Mountjoy, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and foreseeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them instantly into the field, and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and by keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those inconveniencies which were justly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Genises out of Lecade; he harassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and less expeditions; and by destroying every where, and during all seasons, the provisions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish by famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the same time, Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the castle of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainogh; and having seized the monastery of Donnegal near Balishannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnel and the Irish. Nor was Sir George Carew idle in the province of Munster. He seized the titular earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England. He arrested many suspected persons, and took hostages from others. And having got a reinforcement of two thousand men from England, he threw himself into Corke, which he supplied with arms and provisions; and he put every thing in a condition for resisting the Spanish inva-

sion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger to which the southern provinces were exposed, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone who was reduced to great extremities; and marched with his army into Munster. At last the Spaniards under Don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, found himself obliged to abandon it on their appearance. These invaders amounted to four thousand men, and the Irish discovered a strong propensity to join them, in order to free themselves from the English government. D'Aquila assumed the title of general in the holy war for the preservation of the faith in Ireland; and he endeavoured to persuade the people that Elizabeth was, by several bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Irish from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy found it necessary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total insurrection of the Irish; and having collected his forces, he formed the siege of Kinsale by land; while Sir Richard Levinson, with a small squadron, blockaded it by sea. He had no sooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thousand Spaniards under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, who had taken possession of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppose their progress. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel, baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Irish, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinsale. The deputy, informed of their design by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Levinson with six hundred marines, he posted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the passage of the enemy, leaving some cavalry to prevent a sally from d'Aquila and the Spanish garrison. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Irish and Spaniards, approached, he was surprized to find the English so well posted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately sounded a retreat: but the deputy gave orders to pursue him; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he also attacked, and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men. Ocampo was taken prisoner; Tyrone fled into Ulster; O'Donnel made his escape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himself reduced to the greatest difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon such terms as the deputy prescribed to him: he surrendered Kinsale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other successes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into dismay, and gave a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland. Notwithstanding the success of the Irish war, it was extremely burthenome on the queen's revenue; and besides the supplies granted by parliament, which, though small, were ever regarded as mighty concessions, she had been obliged to employ other expedients, such as selling the royal demesnes and crown jewels, and exacting loans from the people; in order to support this cause, so essential to the honour and interests of England. The necessity of her affairs obliged her to summon a parliament on the 27th of October; and it here appeared, that, though old age was advancing fast upon her, and she had lost much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Essex, yet the powers of her prerogative still remained as high and uncontrolable as ever.

Many persons distinguished themselves in the active reign of Elizabeth, and as her revenues were not calculated to reward them according to their services, she granted her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies, (an expedient employed by her predecessors;) and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry,



industry, and emulation in the arts \*. These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised the price of salt from sixteen-pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to secure themselves against encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent †. These grievances, the most intolerable for the present, and the most pernicious in their consequences that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the last parliament, and a petition had even been presented to the queen complaining of the patents; but she still persisted in defending her monopolists against her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower house, abolishing all these monopolies; and as the former application had been unsuccessful, a law was insisted on as the only certain expedient for correcting these abuses ‡. After some warm debates on the subject, the queen who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the house, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents. This message was joyfully received, and the house voted, that the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty, and return thanks to her for her gracious concessions to her people. When the speaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themselves on their knees; and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise §. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the commons; they acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness, that before they called, her preventing grace and all-deserving goodness watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all he promiseth, appertained also to her; and that she was all truth, all constancy, and all goodness. And he concluded with these expressions, "Neither do we present our thanks in words or in any outward sign, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness; but in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your safety." The queen answered in a similar flattering manner.

Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time, from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity, and preserved

the affections of her people. The commons, in gratitude, granted her a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths.

The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much trouble, by fomenting and assisting the Irish rebellion, resolved to give them employment at home; and, in 1602, she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under Sir Richard Levinson, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the galleons loaded with treasure; but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships; but they escaped for a like reason: and these two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal; where they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle: there were eleven gallies stationed in it: and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carrack to surrender. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats.

Tyrone being defeated, and the Spaniards expelled from Ireland, the affairs of that country seemed hastening to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, and harraided the rebels on every side: he built Charlemont, and many other small forts, which were impregnable to the Irish, and guarded all the important passes of the country: the activity of Sir Henry Docwray and Sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: and many of the chieftains, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. Tyrone himself made application, in 1603, by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him, except he made an absolute surrender of his life and fortune to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millifont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the most humble terms, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: she had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Some

\* It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of those commodities which they thus assigned over to patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, felts, pouldavies, ox thin bones, train oil, lists of cloth, pot ashes, anniseeds, vinegar, sea-coal, steel, aqua vitae, brushes, pots, bottles, salt petre, lead, accident, oil, calamine-stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, and of Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopolists. When this list was read in the house, a member cried, "Is not bread in the number?" Bread! said every one with astonishment: "Yes, I assure you," replies he, "if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament."

† The patentees of salt-petre having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havoc they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected salt-petre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from those who desired to free themselves from this damage or trouble.

‡ The courtiers maintained, that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for success if they did not make application, in the most humble and respectful manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. The topics which were advanced in the house, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were

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admitted by both, will appear the most extraordinary to such as are prepossessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she might set at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty. That the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined; and did not even admit of any limitation: that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity: that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes; since, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure: and that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute, excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then with the statute.

§ We learn from Hentzner's Travels, that no one spoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling; though now and then she raised some with waving her hand. Nay, wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her successor first allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, so he relinquished the appearance of despotism. Even when queen Elizabeth was absent, those who covered her table, though persons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.



ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treasons, but who had made such interest with the ministers, as to extort a remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, account for her dejection by a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her court with her successor the king of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed\*; some incidents happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had unwarily given to his execution.

The earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately upon the sight of it recal her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execu-

tion. The countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her that God might pardon her, but she never could, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation: she even refused food and sustenance: and throwing herself on the floor, she remained sullen and immovable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burden to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal: but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies which they prescribed to her. Her anxious mind at last had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, on the 24th of March, without farther struggle or convulsion, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign †.

\* See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negotiations, p. 206; and Memoirs, vol. II. p. 481, 505, 506, &c.

† She was buried in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, where James I. her successor, caused a magnificent monument to be erected to her memory. It is an arch of white marble supported by ten Corinthian pillars of black marble, under which lies her effigies in royal robes. The frieze is adorned with the arms of all the royal marriages from Edward the Confessor, and with emblems of several branches of the royal family.

On a tabature over the cornice at the head of the tomb is this inscription:

“MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ.

“*Elizabethæ Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, R. Henrici VIII. filia, R. Hen. VII. nepti, R. Ed. IV. pronepti, patri parenti, religionis & bonarum artium altrici, plurimarum linguarum peritissimæ, præclarissimæ tum animi tum corporis dotibus, regisq; virtutibus supra sextum, principi.*

INCOMPARABILI.

“*Jacobus Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, virtutum & regnorum hæres, bene merenti pie posuit.*”

“FOR AN ETERNAL MEMORIAL.

“Unto Elizabeth, queen of England, France, and Ireland, daughter of king Henry the Eighth, grandchild to king Henry the Seventh, and great grandchild to king Edward the Fourth. The mother of her country: the patroness and nurse of religion and learning; a princess for all the endowments of body and mind, and more especially for her royal virtues above her sex.

INCOMPARABLE

James, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, heir both of her throne and virtues, hath piously erected this monument to a princess so worthy of commemoration.

On the basement at the top are these words:

“*Regno consortes & urna, hic obdormimus, Elizabetha & Maria sorores in spe resurrectionis.*”

“The sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who possessed the same

throne, are companions in the grave, and here sleep in hope of a resurrection.”

On a like tabature on the cornice at the feet is this inscription:

“MEMORIÆ SACRUM.

“*Religione ad primævam sinceritatem restaurata, pæce fundata, moneta ad justum valorem reducta. Rebellionē domesticā vindicata, Gallia malis intestinis præcipiti sublevata, Belgio sustentato, Hispanico classe profligata, Hibernia pulsus Hispanus, & Rebellibus ad deditiōem coactis pacata, redditibus utriusque academicæ lege annonaria plurimum adauctis, tota denique Angliā ditata, prudentissimæq; annos XLV. administrata, Elizabetha Regina victrix, triumphatrix, pietatis studiosissima, justicissima, placida morte septuagenaria soluta, mortales reliquos dum Christo jubente resurgunt immortales, in hac ecclesiā deberrima ab ipsa conservata, & denuo fundata, deposuit.*”

“SACRED UNTO MEMORY.

“Religion to its primitive purity restored; peace established; money reduced to its just value; domestic rebellion quelled; France relieved when involved in intestine divisions; the Netherlands supported; the Spanish Armada overthrown; Ireland almost lost by rebellion, retrieved by defeating the Spaniards; the revenue of both universities much enlarged by a law of provisions; and lastly all England enriched; Elizabeth, during forty-five years a most wise government, a victorious and triumphant queen, most strictly religious, most happy, by a calm and resigned death at her seventieth year, left her mortal remains, till by Christ's word they shall rise again to immortality, to be deposited in this famous church by her repaired and established.”

On the basement at the feet are these words:

“*Obiit XXIV. Martii, Anno Salutis M. DC. II. Reginæ XI. V. Etatis LXX.*”

“She died the twenty-fourth of March, in the year of Salvation 1602, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and the seventieth of her age.”

There



There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there scarcely is any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced an uniform judgement with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne: a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excesses: her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: she guarded not herself with equal care and equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration,

the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger. Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations: and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able, by her vigour, to make deep impressions on their states: her own greatness meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

## A P P E N D I X T O B O O K VII.

### No. I.

THE power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary; but was scarcely ever so absolute during any former reign, at least after the establishment of Magna Charta, as during that of Henry VII. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of a man, full of vigour, industry, and severity, deliberate in all projects, steady in every purpose, and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprize; he came to the throne after long and sanguinary civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority: the people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves a-new into like miseries: the fruitless efforts made against him served always, as is usual, to confirm his authority: as he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though at the expence of justice and national privileges. These seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered his reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution. This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated for many good laws which he caused to be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce. The more simple ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal

administration of justice: but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII. these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed, that even in the age of lord Bacon, very imperfect, and even erroneous ideas, were formed on that subject.

Early in Henry's reign, the authority of the star-chamber, which was before founded on common law, and ancient practice, was in some cases confirmed by act of parliament\*: lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but the people began to feel that such arbitrary jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the spirit of independence rose higher in the nation, the aversion to it increased, till it was entirely abolished by act of parliament, in the reign of Charles I. a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

Laws were passed by Henry VII. ordaining the king's suit for murder to be carried on within a year and a day†. Formerly it did not usually commence till after; and as the friends of the person murdered often in the interval compounded matters with the criminal, the crime frequently passed unpunished. Suits were given to the poor in *forma pauperis*, as it is called, that is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the council‡: a law was made against carrying off any woman by force§. The benefit of clergy was abridged||; and the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter, denoting his crime; after which he was punished capitally for any new offence. Sheriffs were no longer al-

quired great discretionary power in the sovereign; nor will the same maxims of government suit such a rude people, that may be proper in a more advanced state of society. The establishment of the star-chamber, or the enlargement of its power in the reign of Henry VII. might have been as wise as the abolition of it in that of Charles I.

\* 3 Hen. VII. cap. 1.

§ 3 Hen. VII. cap. 2.

† 11 Hen. VII. cap. 12.

|| 4 Hen. VII. cap. 13.

\* Rot. Parl. 3 Henry VII. n. 17. The preamble is remarkable, and shows the state of the nation at that time:—"The king, our sovereign lord, remembereth how by our own lawful maintainances, giving of liveries, signs, and tokens, retainers by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, and other embraceries of his subjects, untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making pannels, and untrue returns by taking money, by juries, &c. the policy of this nation is most subdued." It must indeed be confessed, that such a state of the country re-



lowed to fine any person without previously summoning him before their court\*. It is strange that such a practice should ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in cases which exceeded forty pounds value†. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any servant of the king's conspired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the king's household, this design, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the punishment of felony‡. This statute was enacted for the security of archbishop Morton, who found himself exposed to the enmity of great numbers. There scarcely passed any session during Hen. VII.'s reign without some statute against engaging retainers, and giving them badges and liveries§; a practice by which they were in a manner enlisted under some great lords, and were kept in readiness to assist in all wars, insurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence

for him in courts of justice||. The increase of the arts more effectually than all the severities of law, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilized species of emulation, and endeavoured to excel in the splendour and elegance of their equipage, houses, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to learn some calling or industry, and became useful both to themselves and to others. And it must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim so violently against refinement in the arts, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man and a better citizen than one of those idle retainers who formerly depended on the great families; so much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron\*\*. The

\* 11 Hen. VII. cap. 15. † Ibid cap. 24. 19 Hen. VII. cap. 100.

‡ 3 Hen. VII. cap. 13.

§ 3 Hen. VII. cap. 1, sect 12: 11 Hen. VII. cap. 3. 19 Hen. VII. cap. 14.

|| There is a story of Henry's severity against the abuse of retainers; and it seems to merit praise, though it is commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, having splendidly entertained him at his castle of Henningham, was desirous of making a parade at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. "My lord," said the king, "I have heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I see on both sides of me, are no doubt your menial servants." The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. "They are most of them," subjoined he, "my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." Oxford is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks, as a composition for his offence.

\*\* The duke of Northumberland some years ago printed a household book of an old earl of that family who lived in the time of Henry VII. The author has been favoured with the perusal of it; and it contains many curious particulars, which mark the manners and way of living in that rude, not to say barbarous, age: as well as the prices of commodities. I have extracted a few of them from that piece, which gives a true picture of ancient manners, and is one of the most singular monuments that English antiquity affords us: for we may be confident, however rude the strokes, that no baron's family was on a more noble or splendid footing. The family consists of one hundred and sixty-six persons, masters and servants: sixty-seven strangers are reckoned upon every day: on the whole two hundred and twenty-three. Two-pence halfpenny are supposed to be the daily expence of each for meat, drink, and firing. This would make a groat of our present money: supposing provisions between three and four times cheaper, it would be equivalent to fourteen-pence: no great sum for a nobleman's house-keeping; especially considering, that the chief expence of a family at that time consisted in meat and drink: for the sum allotted by the earl for his whole annual expence, is one thousand, one hundred, and eighteen pounds, seventeen shillings, and eight-pence; meat, drink, and firing, cost seven hundred and ninety-six pounds, eleven shillings, and two-pence, more than two thirds of the whole: in a modern family it is not above a third, p. 157, 158, 159. The whole expence of the earl's family is managed with an exactness that is very rigid, and, if we make no allowance for ancient manners, such as may seem to border on an extreme; inasmuch, that the number of pieces which must be cut out of every quarter of beef, mutton, pork, veal, may stock-fish and salmon, are determined, and must be entered and accounted for by the different clerks appointed for that purpose; if a servant be absent a day, his mess is struck off: if he go on my lord's business, board wages is allowed him, eight-pence a day for his journey in winter, five-pence in summer: when he stays in any place, two-pence a day is allowed him besides the maintenance of his horse. Somewhat above a quarter of wheat is allowed for every month throughout the year; and the wheat is estimated at five shillings and eight-pence a quarter.

Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed, at four shillings a quarter: two hogheads are to be made of a quarter, which amounts to about a bottle and a third of beer a day to each person, p. 4; and the beer will not be very strong. One hundred and nine fat beeves are to be bought at Allhallow-tide, at thirteen shillings and four-pence a-piece: and twenty-four lean beeves to be bought at St. Helen's at eight shillings a-piece: these are to be put into the pastures to feed; and are to serve from Midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only time that the family eats fresh beef: during all the rest of the year they live on salted meat, p. 5. One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year; which seems indeed requisite for the salt beef, p. 18. Six hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed, at twenty-pence a-piece; and these seem also to be all eat salted, except between Lammas and Michaelmas, p. 5. Only twenty-five hogs are allowed at two shillings a-piece, twenty-eight veals at twenty-pence; forty lambs at ten-pence or a shilling, p. 7. These seem to be reserved for my lord's table, or that of the upper servants, called the knight's table. The other servants they eat salted meat almost through the whole year, and with few or no vegetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet, so that there cannot be any thing more erroneous than the magnificent ideas formed of the Roast Beef of Old England. We must entertain as mean an idea of its cleanliness: only seventy eils of linen at eight-pence an ell, are annually allowed for this great family: no sheets were used: this linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table; and one table-cloth for the knights, p. 16. This last, I suppose, was washed only once a month. Only forty shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole year; and most of it seems expended on the linen belonging to the chapel. The drinking, however, was tolerable, namely, ten tuns and two hogheads of Gascony wine, at the rate of four pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence a ton, p. 6. Only ninety-one dozen of candles for the whole year, p. 14. The family rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon: the gates were all shut at nine, and no farther ingress or egress permitted, p. 314, 318. My lord and lady have set on their table, for breakfast, at seven o'clock in the morning, a quart of beer; as much wine; two pieces of salt fish, six red-herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats. In flesh days half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled, p. 73, 75. Malt is ordered to be laid at six o'clock, in order, says the household-book, that all my lord's servants may rise early, p. 170. Only twenty-four fires are allowed, besides the kitchen and hall, and most of these have only a peck of coals a day allowed them, p. 99. After Lady-Day no fires permitted in the rooms, except half-fires in my lord's and lady's, and lord Piercy's and the nursery, p. 101. It is to be observed, that my lord kept house in Yorkshire, where there is certainly much cold weather after Lady-Day. Eighty chalders of coal, at four shillings and two-pence a chaldar, suffices throughout the whole year; and because coals will not burn without wood, says the household-book, sixty-four loads of great wood are also allowed, at twelve-pence a load, p. 22. This is a proof that grates were not then used. Here is an article. It is devised that from hence forth no capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and that the said capons shall be bought for two-pence a-piece, to be by and to be fed the poultry: and master chamberlain and the steward, to be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them, p. 102. Pigs are to be bought at three-pence of a pig, and at two-pence, at the same price: chickens at a halfpenny. Here is another article, and only for the above-mentioned tables. Item, it is thought good that no players be bought at ticle. Item, it is thought good that no players be bought at no season but only in Christmas and principal feasts, and my lord to be served therewith, and his board-end and none other.



most important law in its consequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry VII. was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable, that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependant on him.

This king's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which encreased his customs; but if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury\*. Even the profits of exchange were prohibited as favouring of usury†, which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against‡. It is needless to observe how unreasonable and iniquitous these laws, how impossible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may observe, however, to the praise of Henry, that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprizes which they had in view§.

Laws were made against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion||: a precaution which serves to no other purpose than to make more be exported. But so far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchants alien, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to invest in English commodities all the money acquired by their sales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandestine manner\*\*.

It was prohibited to export horses; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render them more plentiful in the kingdom††. In order to promote archery, no bows were to be sold at a higher price than six shillings and four-pence‡‡, reducing money to the denomination of our time. Prices were also fixed to woollen cloth §§, to caps and hats|||: and the wages of labourers were regulated by law\*\*\*. It is evident that these matters ought always to be left free, and be entrusted to the common course of business and commerce. To some it may appear surprizing, that the

price of a yard of scarlet cloth should be limited to six and twenty shillings, money of our age; that of a yard of coloured coth to eighteen; higher prices than these commodities bear at present; and that the wages of a tradesman, such as a mason, bricklayer, tyler, &c. should be regulated at near ten-pence a day; which is not much inferior to the present wages given in some parts of England. Labour and commodities have certainly risen since the discovery of the West-Indies; but not so much in every particular as is generally imagined. The greater industry of the present times has increased the number of tradesmen and labourers, so as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increase of gold and silver: and the additional art employed in the finer manufactures has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value. Not to mention that merchants and dealers, being contented with less profit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears by a statute of this reign†††, that goods bought for sixteen-pence, would sometimes be sold by the merchants for three shillings. The commodities whose price has chiefly risen, are butcher's meat, fowl, and fish, (especially the latter,) which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the increase of art and industry. The profession which then abounded most, and was sometimes embraced by persons of the lowest rank, was the church: by a clause of a statute all clerks or students of the university were forbidden to beg, without a permission from the vice-chancellor†††.

One great cause of the low state of industry during Henry VII.'s reign, was the restraint put upon it; and the parliament, or rather the king, (for he was the prime mover in every thing,) enlarged a little some of these limitations, but not to the degree that was requisite. A law had been enacted during the reign of Henry IV. §§§, that no man could bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he were possessed of twenty-shillings a-year in land; and Henry VII. because the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law||||. Afterwards the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to some branches of the woollen manufacture\*\*\*\*. These absurd limitations proceeded from a desire of promoting husbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures. If husbandmen understand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the country. All

and to be bought for a penny a-piece, or a penny halfpenny at most, p. 103. Woodcocks are to be bought at the same price. Partridges at two-pence, p. 104, 105. Pheasants a shilling; peacocks the same, p. 106. My lord keeps only twenty-seven horses in his stable at his own charge: his upper servants have allowance for maintaining their own horses, p. 126. These horses are, six gentle horses as they are called, at hay and hard meat throughout the whole year, four palfreys, three hobbies and nags, three sumpter horses, six horses for those servants to whom my lord furnishes a horse, two sumpter horses more, and three mill horses, two for carrying the corn, and one for grinding it; whence we may infer, that mills, either water or wind-mills, were then unknown; at least very rare: besides these, there are seven great trotting horses for the chariot or waggon. He allows a peck of oats a day, besides loaves made of beans, for his principal horses; the oats at twenty-pence, the beans at two shillings a quarter. The load of hay at two shillings and eight-pence. When my lord is on a journey he carries thirty-six horsemen along with him; together with bed and other accommodation, p. 157. The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes the year in three country-seats, all in Yorkshire, Wryfel, Leckenfield, and Topclyffe; but he has furniture only for one: he carries every thing along with him, beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, all which we may conclude were so coarse, that they could not be spoilt by the carriage: yet seventeen carts and one waggon suffices for the whole, p. 391. One cart suffices for all kitchen utensils, cooks, beds, &c. p. 388. One remarkable circumstance is, that he has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, &c. belonging to his chapel: yet

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he has only two cooks for a family of two hundred and twenty-three persons, p. 325. In another place mention is made of four cooks, p. 388. But we suppose that the two servants called, in p. 325, groom of the larder and child of the scullery, are, in p. 388, comprehended in the number of cooks. Their meals were certainly dressed in the slovenly manner of a ship's company. It is amusing to observe the pompous and even royal style assumed by this Tartar chief; he does not give any orders, though only for the right making of mustard, but it is introduced with this preamble, "It seemeth good to us and our council." If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine arts, we shall not wonder that they considered the ultra-montaine nations as barbarous. The Flemish also seem to have much excelled the English and even the French. Yet the earl is sometimes not deficient in generosity: he pays, for instance, an annual pension of a groat a year to my lady of Walsingham, for her interest in Heaven; the same sum to the holy blood at Hales, p. 337. No mention is any where made of plate; but only of the using of pewter vessels. The servants seem all to have bought their own cloaths from their wages.

\* 3 Hen. VII. cap. 5.

† 7 Hen. VII. cap. 8.

‡ 4 Hen. VII. cap. 23.

†† 11 Hen. VII. cap. 13.

§§ 4 Hen. VII. cap. 8.

\*\*\* 11 Hen. VII. cap. 22.

††† 11 Hen. VII. cap. 22.

|||| 11 Hen. VII. cap. 11.

† Ibid. cap. 6.

§ Polyd. Verg.

\*\* 3 Hen. VII. cap. 8.

†† 3 Hen. VII. cap. 12.

|| Ibid. cap. 9.

††† 4 Hen. VII. cap. 9.

§§§ 7 Hen. VII. cap. 17.

\*\*\*\* 12 Hen. VII. cap. 1.



methods of supporting populousness, except by the interest of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period, there was a frequent renewal of laws and edicts against depopulation; whence we may infer, that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy. One check to industry in England was the erecting of corporations; an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted, that corporations should not pass any bye-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state\*. They were prohibited from imposing tolls at their gates†. The cities of Gloucester and Worcester had even imposed tolls on the Severn, which were abolished‡. There is a law of Henry VII.'s reign§, containing a preamble, by which it appears, that the company of merchant-adventurers in London, had, by their own authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading in the great marts in the Low Countries, unless each trader previously paid them the sum of near seventy pounds. It is surprising that such a bye-law (if it deserves the name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of parliament should be requisite to abrogate it.

It was during that king's reign, on the 2d of August, 1492, a little before sun-set, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the Western World; and a few years after Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East-Indies. These great events were attended with important consequences to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprizes. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts every where: the nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures: men of an inferior rank both acquired a share in the landed property, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons increased by this increase of property: in most nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and subdued the liberties of their kingdoms: but in all places the condition of the people, from the depression of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppressed rather than governed, received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII. who also embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than his institutions, strictly speaking, seem of themselves to deserve on account of any profound wisdom attending them. It was by incident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and Columbus meanwhile having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprize. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment: he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westward, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the sixtieth degree of north latitude: he sailed southward along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any

conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502||. The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the Great Harry\*\*. She was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants.

## No. II.

IN the reign of Henry VIII. the fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted: luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes; and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter. A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal. Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound: mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed. The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, continued; as appears by the laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm houses were allowed to fall to decay. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or farmer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure. It is more probable, that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: for it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears, that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper; a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usuries. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: and the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

Henry VIII. as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and sometimes fought with as great animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the protestants gave

\* 19 Hen. VII. cap. 7.

† 19 Hen. VII. cap. 18.

‡ Ibid. c. 8.

§ 18 Hen. VII. cap. 6.

|| Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 37.

\*\* Stowe, p. 484.



countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations in this particular, and to preserve the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation, it were better the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge. Wolsey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of Henry the Seventh's reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretensions to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.

A law passed in the reign of Mary\*, by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a year, for instance, was obliged to maintain, at his own charge, six horses, fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons fit proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: he was obliged to have forty corslets furnished; fifty almain revets, or, instead of them,

forty coats of plate, corslets, or brigantines furnished, forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand pounds stock was rated equal to one or two hundred pounds a year: a proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a year. We may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about Edward's time from one circumstance: a man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward the Sixth's household, paid only thirty shillings a year, of our present money for his house in Channel-Row †: yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a fifth of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness, dirt, and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he, "are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which his unmolested collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty."

Hollingshed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: the houses were nothing but walling, plastered over with clay: the people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log for their pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood ‡.

In Mary's reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England.

\* 4 & 5 Philip and Mary, cap 2.

† Nicholson's Historical Library.

‡ The passage of Hollingshed, in the discourse prefixed to his History; and which some ascribe to Harrison, was as follows: "Speaking of the increase of luxury: Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to shew that I do rejoice to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time when all things are grown to most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and achieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible: there are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvelously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas, in their young days, there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor-places of their lords always accepted, and peradventure some great personage;) but each made his fire against a reredos in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: for, hid they, our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw pallets, covered only with a sheet, and coverlets made of dayswaine or hophaulets (I use their own terms) and a good round log under their head instead of a bolster. If it were so, that the father, or the good man of the house, had a mattress, or flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: so well were they contented. Pillows, said they, were thought meet for women in child-bed: as for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well: for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas, and rased their hardened sides.—The third thing they tell of is, the change of treene vassels (so called, I suppose, from tree or wood) into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver, or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house." Description of Britain, chap. x.

Again, chap. xvi. "In times past men were contented to dwell in houses builded of fallow, willow, &c. so that the use of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly to churches, religious houses, princes palaces, navigation, &c. but now fallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where retained; and yet see the change; for when our houses were

builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw; which is a fore alteration. In these the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now the assurance of the timber must defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tender lives complain of rheum, catarrhs, and poses; then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did never ache. For as the smoke in those days was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good man and his family from the quack or pose, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted."

Again, in chap. xviii. "Our pewterers in time past employed the use of pewter only upon dishes and pots, and a few other trifles for service; whereas now they are grown into such exquisite cunning, that they can in manner imitate by infusion any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowl, or goblet, which is made by goldsmith's craft, though they be never so curious, and very artificially forged. In some places, beyond the sea, a garnish of good flat English pewter (I say flat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deep, and like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sauce and keeping the meat warm) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver."

If the reader is curious to know the hours of meals in queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the same author: "With us the nobility, gentry, and students, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noon as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten."

Froissart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaster, at "five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had supped." These hours are still more early. It is hard to tell, why all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amusements that push on the hours gradually? Or are the people of fashion better pleased with the secrecy and silence of nocturnal hours, when the industrious vulgar are all gone all to rest? In rude ages men have few amusements or occupations but what day-light affords them.



## No. III.

*The Government of ENGLAND under ELIZABETH.*

MANY authors have bestowed unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wisdom of Elizabeth; and have even extolled her for a quality which, of all others, she was the least possessed of; a tender regard for the constitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is scarcely possible for the prepossessions of party to throw a veil over facts so palpable and undeniable, there is danger lest the public should run into the opposite extreme, and should entertain an aversion to the memory of a princess who exercised the royal authority in a manner so contrary to all the ideas which we at present entertain of a legal constitution. Elizabeth only supported the prerogatives transmitted to her by her predecessors: she believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed: she found that they entirely acquiesced in her arbitrary administration: and it was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government by which she herself was invested with such unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power the question ought never to be forgotten, What is best? But in the general distribution of power among the several members of a constitution, there can seldom be admitted any other question than, What is established? Few examples occur of princes who have willingly resigned their power: none of those who have, without struggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than established practice be followed, factions and dissensions must multiply without end: and though many constitutions, and none more than the British, have been improved by violent innovations. The praise bestowed on those patriots to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with some reserve, and surely without the least rancour against those who adhered to the ancient constitution\*.

In order to understand the ancient constitution of England, there is not a period which deserves more to be studied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princess were scarcely ever disputed, and she therefore employed them without scruple: her imperious temper rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and discovered the full extent of her authority: the great popularity which she enjoyed, proves that she did not infringe any established liberties of the people: there remains evidence sufficient to ascertain the most noted acts of her administration: and though that evidence must be drawn from a source wide of the ordinary historians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and serves as a stronger proof that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary course of administration, since they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people in former reigns seem rather to have been more submissive than even during the age of Elizabeth: it may not here be improper to recount some of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the sources of that great power which the English monarchs formerly enjoyed.

One of the most ancient and most established instruments of power was the court of star-chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary authority of fining,

imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment, and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court consisted of the privy-council and the judges; men who, all of them, enjoyed their offices during pleasure: and when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge, and all the others could only interpose with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty: for who durst set himself in opposition to the crown and ministry, or aspire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while exposed to so arbitrary a jurisdiction?

The court of high commission was another jurisdiction still more terrible; both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undecidable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquiry, and of administering oaths, were more contrary to all the most simple ideas of justice and equity. The fines and imprisonments imposed by this court were frequent: the deprivations and suspensions of the clergy for non-conformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics of England. But martial law went beyond even these two courts in an arbitrary, and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Essex and his fellow conspirators, was a favour; for that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law. There have been instances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Suffex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she sharply reproves him because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law; though it is probable that near eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of that slight insurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or insurrection, king Edward granted a commission of martial law; and empowered the commissioners to execute it, as should be thought by their discretions most necessary. Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the Gospel, ran into the streets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea-captain, whom he took for Hutton, the queen's favourite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but, upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law. But she continued not always so reserved in exerting this authority†. There remains a proclamation of her's, in which she ordered martial law to be used *against all such as import balls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets, from abroad; and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, any law or statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.*

\* By the ancient constitution, is here meant that which prevailed before the settlement of our present plan of liberty. There was a more ancient constitution, where, though the people had perhaps less liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had also less authority: the power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exercised with great tyranny over them. But there was still a more ancient constitution, viz. that before the signing of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power

of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almost wholly in the king. The English constitution, like all others, has been in a state of continual fluctuation.

† The queen in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, said expressly, that she was resolved, "That no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn lines limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions."



standing. We have another act of her's still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons: the lord mayor had endeavoured to repress their disorder: the star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted punishment on these rioters: but the queen, finding those remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-martial: "Granting him authority, and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of peace in London, or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and incorrigible offenders should be found to have committed the said great offences."

The star-chamber, and high commission, and court-martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, had still some pretence of a trial, at least of a sentence; but there was a grievous punishment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the privy-council; and that was, imprisonment in any jail, and during any time that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law. This practice was an indirect way of employing torture: but the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice, was frequently used, upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant, from a secretary of the privy-council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture whenever they thought proper\*. The queen's menace, of trying and punishing Haywarde for treason, could easily have been executed, let his book have been ever so innocent. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury durst have acquitted a man, when the court was resolved to have him condemned. The practice also of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance during all those reigns, that the sovereign or the ministers were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common, of fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing the jurors, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; it is obvious, that juries were then no manner of security to the liberty of the subject.

The power of pressing, both for sea and land service, and obliging any person to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Osborne gives the follow-

ing account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative: "In case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions," says he, "she did seasonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon some service at home, which she knew least grateful to the people: contrary to a false maxim, since practised with far worse success, by such princes as thought it better husbandry to buy off enemies than reward friends."

The government of England, during the age of Elizabeth, however different in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance of that of Turkey at present: the sovereign possessed every power except that of imposing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards takes presents or forfeiture: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade: an invention so pernicious, that, had she gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, on the coast of Barbary. We may farther observe, that this valuable privilege was very much encroached on in an indirect manner during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predecessors. She often exacted loans of her people; by which individuals felt severely: for though the money had been regularly repaid, which was seldom the case, it lay in the prince's hands without interest, which was a sensible loss to the persons from whom the money was borrowed. The demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was so little conceived to be irregular, that the commons, in 1585, offered the queen a benevolence; which she very generously refused, as having no occasion at that time for money. Queen Mary also by an order of council, increased the customs in some branches; and her sister imitated the example. There was a species of ship-money imposed at the time of the Spanish invasion: the several ports were required to equip a certain number of vessels at their own charge; and such was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that some of the ports, particularly London, sent double the number demanded of them. When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the soldiers, to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the sea ports at their own charge. New-Year's gifts were at that time expected from the nobility, and from the more considerable gentry. Purveyance and pre-emption were also methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppressive†. Wardship was the most regular and legal of all these impositions by prerogative: yet was it a great badge of slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families‡. The giving of a rich wardship was a usual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite. The inventions were endless which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the

\* There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story told by lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: "The queen was mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to lord Essex, being a story of the first year of Henry IV. thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads, boldness and faction: she said, she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me, if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within the case of treason? Where-to I answered, for treason, sure I found none; but for felony very many: and when her majesty hastily asked me, Wherein? I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft: for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time when the queen could not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his author; I replied, Nay, Madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but No. L.

rack his style: let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack for a most innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majesty's displeasure.

† The whole kingdom sensibly felt the burden of those impositions: and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of their universities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the first years of her reign.

‡ When an estate devolved to a female, the sovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleased: whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the estate during the minority.



people imagined that their property secured by the crown's being debarred from imposing taxes. Embargoes on merchandize was another engine of royal power, by which the English princes were able to extort money from the people. We have seen instances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, issued an order to the custom-house, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks which should be imported, till the court were first supplied.

The parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting subsidies; but this privilege was, during that age, still more insignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expressly prohibited them from meddling either with state matters or ecclesiastical causes; and she openly sent the members to prison who dared to transgress her imperial edict in these particulars. There passed few sessions of parliament during her reign where there occur not instances of this arbitrary conduct.

But the legislative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy; while the sovereign was universally acknowledged to possess a dispensing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated, and rendered of no effect. In reality the crown possessed the full legislative power by means of proclamations, which might effect any matter even of the greatest importance, and which the star-chamber took care to see more rigorously executed than the laws themselves\*. There were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty †.

It was usual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counsellors to commit to prison any one who had happened to displease them, by suing for his just debts; and the unhappy person, though he gained his cause in the courts of justice, was commonly obliged to relinquish his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some, likewise, who had been delivered from prison by the judges, were again committed to custody in secret places, without any possibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and serjeants of the courts of law were punished for executing the writs in favour of these persons.

It is easy to imagine that no justice could by course of law be obtained of the sovereign during such an administration, unless he were willing to allow it ‡. But it is no wonder the queen in her government should pay so little regard to liberty; while the parliament itself in enacting laws was entirely negligent of it. The law of

the 23d of her reign, making seditious words against the queen capital, is also a very tyrannical statute; and a use no less tyrannical was sometimes made of it. The case of Udal, a puritannical clergyman, seems singular even in those arbitrary times §.

On the whole, the English have no reason, from the example of their ancestors, to be in love with the picture of absolute monarchy; or to prefer the limited authority of the prince and his unbounded prerogatives to that noble liberty, that sweet equality, and that happy security by which they are at present distinguished above all nations in the universe! The utmost that can be said in favour of the government of that age is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exercised after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the administration; that the instances of a high-exerted prerogative were not so frequent as to render property sensibly insecure, or reduce the people to a total servitude; that the freedom from faction, the quickness of execution, and the promptitude of those measures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made some compensation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium to which the people had been accustomed; and that this situation of England, though seemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from a despotic and eastern monarchy than the present government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceless, and disarmed; and besides, are not secured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility, interposed between them and the monarch.

#### No. IV.

#### *Revenues of ENGLAND during the Reign of ELIZABETH.*

THE œconomy of Elizabeth was remarkable; and in some instances seemed to border on avarice. The smallest expence, if it could possibly be spared, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express during the most delicate transactions, was not below her notice. She was also attentive to every profit, and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear

\* The motives for these proclamations were sometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the smell of wood; and she issued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that useful plant. She was also pleased to take offence at the long swords and high ruffs then in fashion: she sent about her officers to break every man's sword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a certain dimension.

† None of the nobility could marry without permission from the sovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in prison, because he privately married the earl of Essex's cousin.

‡ In the naval expedition undertaken by Raleigh and Pro-bisher against the Spaniards in the year 1592, a very rich car-rack was taken, worth two hundred thousand pounds. The queen's share in the adventure was only a tenth; but as the prize was so great, and exceeding so much the expectation of all the adventurers, she was determined not to rest contented with her share. Raleigh humbly and earnestly begged her to accept of a hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and says, that the present which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that ever prince received from a subject.

§ This man had published a book called a *Demonstration of Discipline*, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence; it was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention, or the import of

the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court; they only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which they said was never to be permitted against the crown. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose, that he was not the author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal: for, as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape. He died in prison before execution of the sentence. The case of Penry was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Brownist, a small sect which afterwards increased, and received the name of Independents. He had written against the hierarchy several tracts such as *Martin Marprelate*, *Thebes Martiniana*, and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and, as the statute against seditious words required that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition. It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers "he had not only acknowledged her majesty's royal power to establish laws ecclesiastical and civil; but had avoided the usual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws: which imply," says the lord keeper, "a most absolute authority." Penry, for these offences, was condemned and executed.



somewhat extraordinary. She kept, for instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue; and it was usual with her, when she promoted a bishop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of a bishop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of some of its manors\*. But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure; and even refused subsidies from the parliament when she had no present occasion for them. Yet we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that her œconomy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: she loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes levied in an equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from her desire of independency, and her care to preserve her dignity, which would have been endangered had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies. Thus the queen thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes†, than demand the most moderate supplies from the commons. As she lived unmarried, and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expence of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, found themselves reduced to the most extreme indigence.

The splendour of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except cloaths, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister, an incredible sum for that age‡. The states, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds: and the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand. Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million, three hundred thousand pounds, besides the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted her by parliament. In the year 1599 she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions, four hundred thousand pounds. She gave the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom§.

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary

revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five hundred thousand pounds a year||. In the year 1590 she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a year to fifty thousand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had framed them, to refund some of his former profit\*\*. The queen's rigid œconomy appears when we consider, that she received from the parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. If we suppose that the supplies granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth††. This sum makes only sixty-six thousand, six hundred, and sixty-six pounds a year; and it is surprizing, that while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expences so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a supply from parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown-lands: but such was the extreme parsimony of the parliaments during that period: they valued nothing in comparison of their money; and they were seldom summoned, but with a view to obtain a supply.

In the year 1559, the queen employed Sir Thomas Gresham to borrow for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased. She was so impolitick as to make herself an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

#### No. V.

#### *Of the Commerce of ENGLAND during ELIZABETH'S Reign.*

SENSIBLE how much the defence of the kingdom depended on its naval power, queen Elizabeth was desirous to encourage commerce and navigation: but as her monopolies tended to extinguish all domestic industry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, her conduct in general was ill calculated to serve the purpose at which she aimed, much less to promote the riches of her people. The exclusive companies also were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet the spirit of the age notwithstanding these discouragements, was strongly bent on naval enterprizes; and besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new discoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the English. In the year 1600, the queen granted the first patent to the East-India company: the stock of that company was seventy-two thousand pounds; and they fitted out four ships under the command of James Lancaster, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was successful; and the ships returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to

\* There is a curious letter of the queen's written to a bishop of Ely, and preserved in the register of that see. It is in these words: "Proud prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement: but I would have you know, that I who made you what you are can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself, Elizabeth." The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for a pretended equivalent, and did so, but it was in consequence of the above letter. *Annual Register*, 1761, p. 15.

† Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151, 457, 525, 629. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363.

‡ D'Ewes, p. 473. We cannot easily reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype. *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 344. that in this year (1553) the crown owed but three hundred thousand pounds. This last sum appears a great deal more likely, for the whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

§ Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts con-

ferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, a sum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying during this reign; "The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly."

|| Franklyn in his *Annals*, p. 9, says, that the profit of the kingdom, besides wards and the duchy of Lancaster, (which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds,) was one hundred and eighty-eight thousand, one hundred, and ninety-seven pounds: the crown lands seem to be comprehended in this computation.

\*\* Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden's is difficult or impossible to be reconciled to the state of the customs in the beginning of the subsequent reign, as they appear in the journals of the commons.

†† Lord Salisbury computed these supplies only at two million, eight hundred thousand pounds. *Journ.* 17 Feb. 1609. King James was certainly mistaken when he estimated the queen's annual supplies at one hundred and thirty-seven thousand pounds. Franklyn, p. 44.



continue the commerce. The communication with Muscovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the discovery of the passage to Archangel; but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar \* an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy; and she entered into a personal as well as national alliance with him. The English, encouraged by the privilege which they had obtained from the czar, ventured farther into those countries than any European had formerly done. They transported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the river as far as Wologda. Thence they carried their commodities seven days journey by land to Yaraslau, and then down the Volga, to Astracan. At Astracan they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures into Persia. But this bold attempt met with such discouragements, that it was never renewed. After the death of John Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the patent which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade: when the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that princes must carry an indifferent hand, as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. He, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the discoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

The trade of Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth †. The merchants of the Hanse-Towns complained loudly, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that as she would not innovate any thing, she would still protect them in the immunities and privileges of which she found them possessed: but they were not satisfied with this answer; and soon after they suspended their commerce for a time, which was very beneficial to the staplers and merchant adventurers, who disposed of vast quantities of cloth and other manufactures ‡.

Henry VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ships from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice: but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, built some ships of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which on occasion were converted into ships of war, she put the navy on a more respectable footing. In the year 1582, the seamen in England were found to be fourteen thousand, two hundred, and ninety-five men; the number of vessels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson pretends, that though navigation decayed in the first years of James I. by practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before the year 1640, this number of seamen was tripled in England.

\* The czar was named John Basilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to ensure this resource, he purposed to marry an English woman; and the queen intended to have sent him lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon: but when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, she wisely declined purchasing an empire at the expence of her ease and safety.

† Before that time, the grand signior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had granted to any other nation.

‡ This trade was so carried on, that they tried

### *Military Force of ENGLAND in ELIZABETH'S Reign.*

THE navy which the queen left at her decease appears considerable, when we reflect only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: but when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns, that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ships of a thousand tons; and some even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was seven hundred and seventy-four; we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained; for it now carries about fifteen thousand guns. In the year 1588, there were not above five vessels fitted out by the noblemen and sea-ports which exceeded two hundred tons. In 1599, an alarm was given of an invasion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppose them. This sudden armament impressed foreigners with a high idea of the power of England. In 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thousand, nine hundred, and twenty-nine. A distribution was made in 1595 of a hundred and forty thousand men, besides those which Wales could supply. These armies were formidable by their numbers; but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over and plundered the east coast: so unfit was the militia, as it was then constituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were first appointed to the counties in this reign. Harrison says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to one million, one hundred and seventy-two thousand, six hundred, and seventy-four; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: a vulgar complaint in all places and in all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions. Whatever opinion we may form of the comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed, abstracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increase of power in that, more perhaps than in any other European state since the beginning of the last century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could at present exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Henry V.; when the maintenance of a garrison in a small town like Calais formed more than a third of the ordinary national expence. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government!

all the methods which a discontented people could devise, to draw upon the English merchants the ill opinion of other nations and states. They prevailed so far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the English were prohibited all commerce in the empire: the queen, by way of retaliation, retained sixty of their ships, which had been seized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading cities; but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and cargoes to be confiscated: only two of them were released to carry home the news, and to inform these states that she had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings.



No. VII.

*The State of the ENGLISH Manufactures.*

THE state of the English manufactures was in the time of Elizabeth very low; and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference. About 1590, there were in London four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds. This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567 there were found to be four thousand, eight hundred, and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London: of whom three thousand, eight hundred, and thirty were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots. The persecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them. At this time Sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the exchange for the reception of the merchants: the queen visited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange. Dr. Howel says; that queen Elizabeth in the third of her reign, was presented with a pair of black silk knit stockings by her silk-woman, and never wore cloth hose any more. The author of *The Present State of England* says, that about 1577, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the use of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain. Camden says, that in 1581 Randolph, so much employed by the queen in foreign embassies, possessed the office of post-master-general of England. It appears, therefore, that posts were then established; though, from Charles I.'s regulations in 1635, it would seem that few post-houses were erected before that time. In a remonstrance of the Hanse-Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed, that England exported annually about two hundred thousand pieces of cloth. In the fifth of Elizabeth's reign was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor. The queen, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good success. From the same author we learn, that the complaints renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing\*. There seems, indeed, to have been two periods in which prices rose immediately in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the present age. Between the two, there seems to have been a stagnation. It would appear that industry, during that intermediate period, increased as fast as gold and silver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money. The current specie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions†.

The earl of Leicester desired Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a riding-master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a year, besides maintaining himself and servant, and a couple of horses. "I know," adds the earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages in France: but let him consider, that a shilling

\* A compendious or brief examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen. The author says, that in twenty or thirty years before 1581, commodities had in general risen fifty per cent.; some more. "Cannot you, neighbour, remember," says he, "that within these thirty years, I could in this town buy the best pig or goose I could lay my hands on for four-pence, which now costeth twelve-pence, a good capon for three-pence, or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence." p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a-day, p. 31.

† *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. 1. p. 475.

‡ The following are the words of Roger Ascham, the queen's preceptor: "It is your shame, (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England,) that one maid should go

in England goes as far as two shillings in France." It is known that every thing is much changed since that time.

No. VIII.

*Of the Learning of the Age.*

LITERATURE on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may on one account or other be admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catharine Parr translated a book: lady Jane Gray, considering her age, her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor in Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge: lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality. Queen Elizabeth wrote and translated several books; and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongues‡. It is pretended that she made an extemporary reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language. It is certain, that she answered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her. When she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death, my lords," (for she was much addicted to swearing,) "I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath long lain rusting." Elizabeth, even after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and next to her desire of ambition for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She translated Boethius on the Consolation of Philosophy; in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compositions, we may pronounce, that, notwithstanding her application and her excellent parts, her taste in literature was but indifferent: she was much inferior to her successor, in this particular, who was himself no perfect model of eloquence. Unhappily for literature, at least for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in shining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spenser himself, the finest English writer of his age, was long neglected, and after the death of Sir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almost for want.

No. IX.

*Of the Rise and Progress of the PURITANS.*

AS we promised an account of the rise and progress of the Puritans, we take the present opportunity of pre-

beyond ye all in excellency of learning, and knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together shew not so much good will; spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the encrease of learning and knowledge, as doth the queen's majesty herself. Yea, I believe that, besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day, than some prebendary of this church doth Latin in a whole week.—Amongst all the benefits which God had blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning," &c.



senting it to our readers. The origin of the unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of queen Mary, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in Germany\*. Of these fugitive congregations some performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by Edward VI.; while others preferred the Swiss method of worship as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called Conformists, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince now mentioned; and the denominations of Non-conformists and Puritans were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy, concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship, that had divided the exiles abroad, changed scenes, and was removed with them to England; when the auspicious succession of queen Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty, and promoting each their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them; and the breach widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model, exhibited by the protestants of Geneva, and their adherents, the Puritans; and, therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors, that were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages†. When her plan was put in execution, and the face of the church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of public worship, the famous Act of Uniformity was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen, as its supreme, visible head upon earth. The Puritans refused their assent to these proceedings; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal; and complained heavily, that the gross superstitions of popery, which were looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and were imposed by authority. They were not, indeed, all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the church; nor did they in effect carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done towards the establishment of a national religion, and acquired

nothing less than that the church of England should be modelled after that of Geneva. The milder and more moderate Puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only required liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the object of their requests, but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect (as she was used to call it) permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifice, and all the severity of the laws. Thus was that form of religion established in Britain, which separated the English equally from the church of Rome on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery on the other, but which at the same time laid a perpetual foundation for dissensions and feuds, in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation‡.

The incident, that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful calamities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect, in any way, the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the Puritans entertained a strong aversion to the vestments worn by the English clergy in the celebration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests, they appeared to the Puritans in no other light, than as the ensigns of antichrist. The spirit of opposition, being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government, established in England, was one of the first and main grievances of which the Puritans complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which had been instituted by Christ, the great Law-giver of the church; and, in conformity with the sentiments of Calvin, maintained, that, by the divine law, all the ministers of the gospel were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not indeed think it unlawful that a person, distinguished by the title of a bishop, or superintendent, should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, so long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert, that the order of bishops was superior to

\* I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were Sacramentarians, (for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the Eucharist,) and expelled from their cities such of the English protestants, as repaired to them, as a refuge from popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany, where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at Franckfort that the exiles were most numerous; and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the church of England, which continues to this day. It is, however, a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melancthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches, which the Lutherans cast upon the English martyrs who had sealed the Reformation with their blood, calling them the Devil's Martyrs. See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, century xvi.

† Dr. Mosheim, (Eccl. Hist. Cent. xvi.) whence this account is extracted, seems disposed, by this ambiguous expres-

sion of the primitive ages, to insinuate, that queen Elizabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is however certain, that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual, and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the real presence; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel; and would undoubtedly have forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed. Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.

‡ No writer has treated this part of the Ecclesiastical History of Britain in a more ample and elegant manner than Daniel Neal, in his History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists, in four volumes 8vo. The first part of this laborious work was published at London, in the year 1723, and the latter part in 1728.



the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself. This doctrine was readily adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. For they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers of the Gospel, who had not received ordination from a bishop, as irregularly invested with the sacred character; and also maintained that the clergy, in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman catholic priests.

All these things exasperated the Puritans, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against cathedral churches, and demanded the abolition of the archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great; for they were of opinion, that, not open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the church\*; and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision, by observing, that the church, being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers, than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and ceremonies that were imposed by the order of the queen, and the authority of her council; among these were the festivals or holidays that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the sign of the cross more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living†, and the doctrine relating to the validity of lay-baptism. They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayers, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. The principles laid down by the queen's commissioners on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other, were indeed very different. For in the first place, the former maintained that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions and of correcting the errors that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church is lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far, and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin, that celebrated reformer. Secondly, The queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine or dis-

cipline of the church, was not to be derived from the Sacred Writings alone, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The Puritans, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired Word of God being the pure and only fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence alone that the rule and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those, who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sorts of authority. Thirdly, the queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was, nevertheless, to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers, ordained by him, were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point, which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the Puritans entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as antichrist, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the Gospel; and in consequence of this they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion. Fourthly, the court commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alledged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to the ends of civil policy. The Puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline; and that the apostles, in establishing the first Christian church on the aristocratical plan that was then observed in the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model, to be followed in all times and in all places. Lastly, the court reformers were of opinion, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of the Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state. The Puritans alledged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose as necessary and indispensable, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters in-

\* The Puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter addressed, from their prison, to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1592, by observing, that their sentiment concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and also concerning the effects and extent of that act of church-discipline, were conformable to those of all the reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that, according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public or any

other civil or earthly commodity of this life; and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

† Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans were, kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.



different; since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty, with which the Divine Saviour had made us free. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies, as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation, as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council\*.

The cause of Christianity was promoted with wisdom and success, in those parts of America where the English formed settlements during the seventeenth century; and though it had the greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, made, in a little time, a considerable progress. The English Independents, who retired to America on account of their dissent from the established religion of their country, claimed the honour of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal and such abundant fruits; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect, that had been settled in Holland, removed from thence into America † in the year 1620, in order, as they alleged, to transmit their doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages; and there they laid the foundations of a new state. The success that attended this first emigration engaged great numbers of the people called Puritans, who groaned under the oppression of the bishops, and the severity of a court, by which this oppression was authorized, to follow the fortunes of these religious adventurers; and this produced a second emigration in the year 1629. But notwithstanding the success that in process of time crowned this enterprise, its first beginnings were unpromising, and the colonists, immediately after their arrival, laboured under such hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of this new region, that they could make but little progress in instructing the Indians: their whole zeal and industry being scarcely sufficient to preserve the infant settlement from the horrors of famine. But towards the year 1633, things put on a better aspect: the colony began to flourish, and the new comers, among whom the Puritans Mayhew, Sheppard, and Elliot, made an eminent

figure; had the leisure, courage, and tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to the execution of such an important and arduous design. All these devout exiles were remarkably zealous, laborious, and successful, in the conversion of the Indians; but none acquired such a shining reputation, in this pious career, as John Elliot, who learned their language, into which he translated the Bible, and other instructive and edifying books, gathered together the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, instructed them in a manner suited to the dullness of their comprehension, and the measures of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honourable title of the Apostle of the Indians.

When on the death of Elizabeth, James I. ascended the throne, they conceived the warmest hopes of seeing more serene and prosperous days, and of being delivered from the vexations and oppressions they were constantly exposed to, on account of their attachment to the discipline and worship of the church of Geneva. These hopes were so much the more natural, as the king had received his education in Scotland, where the Puritans prevailed, and had, on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution ‡. And some of the first steps taken by this prince seemed to encourage these hopes, as he appeared desirous of assuming the character and office of an arbitrator, in order to accommodate matters between the church and the Puritans §. But these expectations soon vanished, and under the government of James, things put on a new face.

The synod of Dort was now held, in which disputes concerning doctrinal points were handled, and the victory was assigned to some peculiar doctrines, says Mosheim, which were absolutely unknown in the first ages of the Christian church. The change was fatal to the interests of the Puritans; for the king being indisposed to the opinions and institutions of Calvinism, the Puritans were left without defence, and exposed anew to the animosity and hatred of their adversaries, which had been, for some time, suspended, but now broke out with redoubled vehemence, and at length kindled a religious war, whose consequences were deplorable beyond expression.

\* "Both parties," says Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, "agreed too well in asserting the necessity of an uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the degrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives."

† This colony settled in that part of America that was afterwards called New Plymouth.

‡ In a general assembly held at Edinburgh in the year 1590, this prince is said to have made the following public declaration: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be the king of the sincerest (i. e. purest) kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keep pasche and yule (i. e. Easter and Christmas.) What have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass, but the listings

(i. e. the elevation of the host.) I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 256.

§ The religious disputes between the church and the Puritans induced James to appoint a conference between the two parties at Hampton-Court, (see under the year 1604;) at which nine bishops and as many dignitaries of the church appeared on the one side, and four Puritan ministers on the other. The king himself took a considerable part in the controversy against the latter. And this was an occupation well adapted to his taste; for nothing could be more pleasing to this royal pedant than to dictate magisterially to an assembly of divines concerning points of faith and discipline, and to receive the applauses of these holy men for his superior zeal and learning. The conference continued three days. The first day it was held between the king and the bishops and deans, to whom James proposed some objections against certain expressions in the liturgy, and a few alterations in the ritual of the church, in consequence of which, some slight alterations were made. The two following days the Puritans were admitted, whose proposals and remonstrances may be seen in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. II. p. 15.



## B O O K VIII.

## UNION OF THE CROWNS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

*Containing the Reigns of King James I. King Charles I. King Charles II. King James II. King William and Queen Mary, and Queen Anne.*

## C H A P. I.

## J A M E S I.

**I**T is remarkable that no country ever enjoyed greater tranquillity in the transmitting of a crown from father to son, than England did when it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. James Stuart, king of Scotland, was the only person who had any just claim to the throne. He was great-grandson of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII.; and, on the failure of the male-line, his hereditary right remained unquestionable. If the religion of Mary, queen of Scots, and the other prejudices contracted againh her, had formed any considerable obstacle to her succession, these objections, being entirely personal, had no place with regard to her son\*.

The king's journey from Edinburgh to London afforded to the inquisitive some circumstances of comparison, which even the natural partiality in favour of their new sovereign could not interpret to his advantage. As he passed along all ranks of men flocked about him from every quarter, allured by interest or curiosity. But James, though sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; and therefore issued a proclamation, forbidding this resort of people, on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies, which he said, would necessarily attend it. But notwithstanding this prohibition, he was not insensible to the great affection which appeared in his new subjects; and to make them some return of kindness and good offices, he was observed, in six weeks time after his entrance into the kingdom, to have bestowed knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons †.

The duke of Lenox, the earl of Marre, lord Hume, lord Kinlos, Sir George Hume, secretary Elphinstone, James's countrymen, were added to the English privy-council ‡. In justice to James we must declare, that he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects §. The capacity of James and his ministers in negotiation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Eu-

rope, in order to congratulate him on his accession, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Beside ministers from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate; Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt the pensionary of Holland, was ambassador from the States of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by arch-duke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

The French empire, now united in domestic peace, and governed by the most amiable prince that adorns modern history, was become a sufficient counterpoise to the Spanish greatness.

The French ambassador concerted with James the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces. The king before his accession, had entertained scruples with regard to the revolt of the Low Countries; and being commonly open and sincere, he had, on many occasions, gone so far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels: but having conversed more fully with English ministers and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic so strong, and their opinion of common interest so established, that he was obliged to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice; a quality which, even when erroneous, is respectable as well as rare in a monarch. He therefore agreed with Rosni to support secretly the states-general, in concert with the king of France; lest their weakness and despair should oblige them to submit to their old master ||.

During this great tranquillity nothing could be more surprizing than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy; and history can give us no clue to unravel it. Watson and Clarke, two catholic priests, were accused of the plot: lord Gray, a puritan: lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, of no fixed principle: and Sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received the appellation of free-thinkers: together with these, Mr. Broke, brother to lord Cobham; Sir Griffin

\* Though James was born and educated amidst a foreign and hostile people, men hoped, from his character of moderation and wisdom, that he would embrace the maxims of an English monarch; and the prudent foresaw greater advantages resulting from an union with Scotland, than disadvantages from submitting to a prince of that nation.

† A palquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility.

‡ Sir George Hume, whom he created earl of Dunbar, was his declared favourite as long as that nobleman lived, and was one of the wisest and most virtuous, though the least powerful, of all those whom the king ever honoured with that distinction.

§ Among these, secretary Cecil, created successively lord Effendon, viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this minister were sufficiently known, his favour with the king created surprize on the accession of that monarch. The secret correspondence into

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which he had entered with James, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit; and while all his former associates, Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Gray, and lord Cobham, were discountenanced on account of their animosity against Essex, as well as for other reasons, this minister was continued in employment, and treated with the greatest confidence and regard.

|| The articles of the treaty were few and simple. It was stipulated, that the two kings should allow the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions; and should under-hand remit to that republic the sum of one million, four hundred thousand livres a year for the pay of these forces: that the whole sum would be advanced by the king of France; but that the third of it should be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they agreed to assist each other; Henry with a force of ten thousand men, James with that of six.



Markham, Mr. Copeley, and Sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination; what end they proposed; or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, had never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined. As Raleigh, Gray, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the king, till conditions should be made with him; they were upon that account extremely noxious to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies. But the confession, as well as trial of the criminals, put the matter beyond doubt. And though no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprize, it appeared that men of furious and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement. The two priests \* and Broke † were executed: Cobham, Gray, and Markham, were pardoned ‡, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh § too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

In the beginning of 1604, began the famous religious disputes between the church of England and the puritans ||. The puritans justly complained of a partial and unfair management of the dispute. The king, from the beginning of the conference, shewed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which should be received with great limitations: "No bishop, no king." The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal disputant; and the archbishop of Canterbury said, that "undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit." A few alterations in the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

On the 19th of March, a parliament was assembled; it had been long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged to such a degree that above thirty thousand persons are computed to have died of it in a year; though the city contained at that time little more than one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The speech which the king made on opening the parliament, fully displays his character, and proves him to have possessed more knowledge and better parts, than prudence or any just sense of decorum and propriety. The first business in which the commons were engaged, was of the utmost importance to the preservation of their privileges; and neither temper nor resolution were wanting in their conduct of it. When James summoned this parliament, he issued a proclamation; in which, among many general advices, he strictly enjoined the people not to choose any outlaw for their representative. And he adds; "If any person take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burges, not being duly elected, according to the laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every person so offending to be fined or imprisoned for the same."

Sir Francis Goodwin was chosen member for the

county of Bucks; and his return, as usual, was made into chancery. The chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his seat, and issued writs for a new election. Sir John Fortescue was chosen in his place by the county. But the first act of the house was, to reverse the chancellor's sentence, and restore Sir Francis to his seat. At the king's suggestion, the lords desired a conference on the subject; but were absolutely refused by the commons, as the question entirely regarded their own privileges. The commons, however, agreed to make a remonstrance to the king by the mouth of their speaker; in which they maintained, that though the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the sole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the house itself, not to the chancellor. James was not satisfied, and ordered a conference between the house and the judges, whose opinion in this case was opposite to that of the commons. This conference, he said, he commanded as an absolute king; an epithet, we are apt to imagine, not very grateful to English ears, but one to which they had already been somewhat accustomed from the mouth of Elizabeth. He added, that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them against him; a sentiment which, from Elizabeth's conduct, it is certain that princes had entertained, and which was the reigning principle of her courtiers and ministers, and the spring of all her administration. The commons were now in some perplexity: their eyes were opened, and they saw the consequences of that power which had been assumed by the chancellor, and to which their predecessors had in some instances, blindly submitted. "By this course, said a member, the free election of the counties is taken away, and none shall be chosen but such as shall please the king and council. Let us, therefore, with fortitude, understanding, and sincerity, seek to maintain our privilege. This cannot be construed any contempt in us, but merely a maintenance of our common rights, which our ancestors have left us, and which it is just and fit for us to transmit to our posterity." Another said, "This may be called a *quo warranto* to seize all our liberties." "A chancellor, added a third, by this course, may call a parliament consisting of what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, Whether the chancery or parliament ought to have authority?" Notwithstanding this watchful spirit of liberty, which now appeared in the commons, their deference for majesty was so great, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. There the question of law began to appear, in James's eyes, a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to extricate himself with some honour, he proposed that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a writ be issued by warrant of the house, for a new election. Goodwin gave his consent, and the commons embraced the expedient; but in such a manner, that, while they shewed their regard for the king, they secured for the future the free possession of their seats, and the right which they claimed, of judging solely in their own elections and returns. At the same time the commons, in the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, established their power of punishing, as well the persons at whose suit any member is arrested, as the officers who either arrest or detain him.

About this period, the minds of men throughout

every man was pleased to give sentence against the capital enemy of Essex, the favourite of the people. Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney-general, managed the cause for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in some degree, on the manners of the age. Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, are the terms which he employs against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with temper, eloquence, and courage.

§ See Appendix to Book VII. No. IX.

\* November 29. † December 5. ‡ December 9.  
§ Sir Walter Raleigh was accused by Cobham alone, in a sudden fit of passion, upon hearing that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by which Cobham's guilt might be known and ascertained. This accusation Cobham afterwards retracted; and soon after he retracted his retraction. Yet upon the written evidence of this single witness, a man of no honour or understanding, and so contradictory in his testimony; not confronted with Raleigh; not supported by any concurring circumstances; was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at that time extremely odious in England; and



Europe, especially in England, seem to have undergone a general, but insensible revolution. Though letters had been revived in the preceding age, they were chiefly cultivated by those of sedentary professions; nor had they, till now, begun to spread themselves, in any degree, among men of the world. Arts, both mechanical and liberal, were every day receiving great improvements: navigation had extended itself over the whole globe: travelling was secure and agreeable: and the general system of politics in Europe was become more enlarged and comprehensive. In consequence of this universal fermentation, the ideas of men enlarged themselves on all sides; and the several constituent parts of the Gothic governments, which seem to have lain long unactive, began, every where, to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the necessity of discipline had begotten standing armies, the princes commonly established an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the liberties of the people. In England, the love of freedom, which, unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitably to that cultivated understanding, which became, every day, more common among men of birth and education. The severe, though popular government of Elizabeth, had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds: but when a new and a foreign family succeeded to the throne, and a prince less dreaded and less beloved, symptoms immediately appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation. The spirit and judgement of the house of commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but also in their endeavour, though, at this time, in vain, to free trade from those shackles, which the high exerted prerogative, and even, in this respect, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth, had imposed upon it.

James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry: but the exclusive companies still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that of France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce was for ever sacrificed to a little temporary advantage of the sovereign\*. The committee appointed to examine this grievance, insist on it as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to present received opinion, that shipping and seamen had sensibly decayed during all the preceding reign†.

While the commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they also endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of wardships, and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures, under which the nation still laboured. A just regard was shewn to the crown in the conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy sought for, considered as a matter of right, but merely of grace and favour. The profit which the king reaped, both from wards and repite of homage, was estimated; and it was intended to compound for these prerogatives by a secure and independent revenue. But after some debates in the house, and some conferences with the lords, the affair was found to contain more difficulties than could easily, at that time, be surmounted; and it was not then brought to

any conclusion. The same fate attended an attempt of a like nature, to free the nation from the burden of purveyance. This prerogative had been much abused by the purveyors; and the commons shewed some intention to offer the king fifty thousand pounds a-year for the abolition of it.

The most important affair that was brought before the parliament, where the commons shewed a greater spirit of independence than any true judgement of national interest, was the union of the two kingdoms. This was zealously, and even impatiently urged by the king. He justly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the sanguinary animosities of these hostile nations, and had reduced the whole island under one government; enjoying tranquillity within itself, and security from all foreign invasions. He hoped that, while his subjects of both kingdoms reflected on past disasters, besides regarding his person as infinitely precious, they would entertain the strongest desire of securing themselves against the return of like calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments, and privileges. The more urgent the king appeared in promoting so useful a measure, the more backward was the English parliament in concurring with him; while they ascribed his excessive zeal, to that partiality in favour of his ancient subjects, of which they thought, that, on other occasions, they had reason to complain. Their complaisance for the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union; but without any power of making advances towards the establishment of it. The same spirit of independence appeared in the house of commons, when the question of supply was brought before them, by some members attached to the court. In vain was it urged, that, though the king received a supply which had been voted to Elizabeth, and which had not been collected before her death; yet he found it burdened with a debt contracted by the queen, equal to the full amount of it: that peace was not yet thoroughly concluded with Spain, and that Ireland was still expensive to him. No impression was made on the house of commons by these topics; and the majority appeared fully determined to refuse all supply. The commons seem also to have been desirous of reducing the crown to still farther necessities, by their refusing a bill, sent down to them by the lords, for entailing the crown lands for ever on the king's heirs and successors. The dissipation, made by Elizabeth, had probably taught James the necessity of this law, and shewn them the advantage of refusing it. In order to cover a disappointment with regard to supply, which might bear a bad construction, both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the house, in which he told them, that he desired no supply; and he was very forward in refusing what was never offered him. Soon after, July 7, he prorogued the parliament, not without discovering, in his speech, visible marks of dissatisfaction‡.

This summer the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London. The constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace; and, on the part of England, the earl of Hertford was sent into the Low Countries for the same purpose, and the earl of Nottingham, high-admiral, into Spain§.

Julius Cæsar's Collections. See Journ. 21 May, 1604.

† The commons, now finding themselves free from the arbitrary government of Elizabeth, made application for a conference with the lords, and presented a petition to the king; the purport of both which was, to procure, in favour of the puritans, a relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws. The use of the surplice, and of the cross in baptism, is there chiefly complained of.

‡ The train of the latter was numerous and splendid; and the Spaniards, it is said, were extremely surprized, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the English, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the priests, had represented as so many monsters and infernal demons.

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\* These companies, though arbitrarily elected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost all the commerce of England was centered in London; and it appears, that the customs of that port amounted to one hundred and ten thousand pounds a year, while those of all the kingdom besides yielded only seventeen thousand. Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred citizens, who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both to the exports and imports of the nation.

† A remonstrance from the Trinity-house, in 1602, says, that in a little above twelve years, after 1588, the shipping and number of seamen in England decayed about a third. *Angley's Happy Future State of England*, p. 128, from Sir



We are now to relate an event, one of the most memorable that history has conveyed to posterity, and containing at once a singular proof both of the strength and weakness of the human mind; its widest departure from morals, and most steady attachment to religious prejudices. It is the gunpowder treason; a fact as certain as it appears incredible.

The partizans of the church of Rome had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as he was descended from Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause, and as he himself, in his early youth, was imagined to have shewn some partiality towards them, which nothing, they thought, but interest and necessity had since restrained. It is pretended, that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion, as soon as he should ascend the throne of England; whether their credulity had intercepted in this sense some obliging expressions of the king's, or that he had employed such an artifice, in order to render them favourable to his title. Very soon they discovered their mistake; and were at once surprized and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In one of their conversations with regard to the distressed condition of the catholics, Piercy having broken into a fall of passion, and mentioned assassinating the king; Catesby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and a more extensive plan of treason, which not only included a sure execution of vengeance, but afforded some hopes of restoring the catholic religion in England. "In vain," said he, "would you put an end to the king's life: he has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguish the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, the parliament, are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, besides their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predecessors. To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords, the commons; and bring all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all assembled on the first meeting of the parliament; and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the wall, in which they meet; and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves standing aloof, safe, and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of Divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences." Piercy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders, in quest of Rawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the communion, the most sacred rite of their religion. And it is remarkable, that no one of these pious devotees ever entertained the least compunction with regard to the cruel massacre, which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were startled by the reflection, that of necessity many catholics must

be present; as spectators or attendants on the king, & having seats in the house of peers; but Tesmond, a Jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, removed these scruples, and shewed them how the interests of religion required that the innocent should here be sacrificed with the guilty.

All this passed in the spring and summer of 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighbourhood, they carried in store of provisions with them, and never desisted from their labour. Obstinate in their purpose, and confirmed by passion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little feared death in comparison of a disappointment; and having provided arms, together with the instruments of their labour, they resolved to perish in case of discovery. Their perseverance advanced the work; and they soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found, that it came from the vault below the house of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place hired by Piercy in 1605; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous. Confident of success, they began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Piercy should seize him, or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house at Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, and Grant, being let into the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends on pretence of a hunting match, and seizing that princess, immediately to proclaim her queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety; and trusting to the general confusion, which must result from so unexpected a blow, they foresaw not, that the fury of the people, now unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, and would probably have satiated itself, by an universal massacre of the catholics.

The day so long wished for, now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had, as yet, induced any one conspirator, either to abandon the enterprize, or make a discovery of it. The holy fury had extinguished in their breasts every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding chiefly from these very bigoted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation. Ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Montague, a catholic, son to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand: "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shut off your attendance at this parliament: for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there is no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hunts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you



you good, and can do you no harm : for the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle knew not what to make of this letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury too was inclined to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. To the king it appeared not so light a matter; and from the serious and earnest style of the letter, he conjectured, that it implied something dangerous and important. A terrible blow, and yet the authors concealed; a danger so sudden, and yet so great; these circumstances seemed all to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffex, lord chamberlain; who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots, which lay in the vault under the upper house; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Piercy's servant. That daring and determined courage, which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among those heroes of villainy, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not passed unnoticed by the chamberlain. Such a quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and turning over the faggots, discovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for setting fire to the train were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who finding guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret, that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and shewing no concern but for the failure of the enterprize. This obstinacy lasted two or three days: but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being just shewn to him; his courage fatigued with so long an effort, and unsupported by hope or society, at last failed him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators.

Catesby, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London, though they had heard of the alarm taken at a letter sent to Monteagle; though they had heard of the chamberlain's search; yet were resolved to persist to the utmost, and never abandon their hopes of success. But at last, hearing that Fawkes was arrested they hurried down to Warwickshire; where Sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themselves on their defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters, and armed by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes, either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received

absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible to the assailants. But even this they were unable to do. Some of their powder took fire, and prevented their defence. The people rushed in upon them: Piercy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner. Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigoted catholics were so devoted to Garnet, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr\*.

James in his speech to the parliament, observed, "That, though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men, he said, and our ancestors among the rest, had been seduced to concur with that church in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles, concerning the pope's power of dethroning kings, or sanctifying assassination. The wrath of Heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain his favour, and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableness of the puritans, who condemned alike to eternal torments, even the most inoffensive partizans of popery. For his part, he added, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter, in the least, his plan of government: while with one hand he punished guilt, with the other he would still support and protect innocence." After this speech, he prorogued the parliament till the 22d of January. This moderation, however, was not altogether pleasing to his protestant subjects.

James seems now, 1606, to have possessed the affections and regard even of his English subjects. His parts, which were not despicable, and his learning, which was great, being highly extolled by his courtiers and gownmen, and not yet tried in the management of any delicate affairs, for which he was unfit, raised a high idea of him in the world; nor was it always through flattery or insincerity that he received the title of the second Solomon. A report, which was suddenly spread about this time, of his being assassinated, visibly struck a great consternation into all orders of men. The commons also abated, this session, somewhat of their extensive frugality, and granted him an aid, payable in four years, of three subsidies and six pence, which, Sir Francis Bacon said in the house, might amount to about four hundred thousand pounds: and for once the king and parliament parted in friendship and good humour. The hatred which the catholics so visibly bore him, gave him, at this time, an additional value in the eyes of the people†.

On the 18th of November the intended union of the two kingdoms was began to be canvassed in parliament. Nothing could exceed the king's passion and zeal for this noble enterprize, but the parliament's prejudice and reluctance against it. The king's influence seems to have rendered the Scottish parliament cordial in all the steps which they took towards the union. Though the advantages which Scotland might hope from that measure were more considerable; yet were the objections too, with regard to that kingdom, more striking and obvious. The benefit which must have resulted to England, both by accession of strength and security, was not despicable; and as the English were by far the greater nation, and possessed the seat of government, the objections, either from the point of honour or from jealousy, could not reasonably have any place among

\* We may here observe, that the lords Mordaunt and Mount, two catholics, were fined, the former ten thousand pounds, the latter four thousand pounds, by the star-chamber; because their absence from parliament had begotten a suspicion of their being acquainted with the conspiracy. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, not to mention

other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without his taking the requisite oaths.

† The only considerable point, in which the commons incurred his displeasure, was by discovering their constant goodwill to the puritans, in whose favour they desired a conference with the lords: which was rejected.



them. The English parliament indeed seem to have been swayed merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy. And they persisted so obstinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorough union and incorporation ended only in the abolition of the hostile laws formerly enacted between the kingdoms\*. Except the obstinacy of the parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the king's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, most of their measures, during this session, were sufficiently respectful and obliging; though they still discovered a vigilant spirit, and a careful attention towards national liberty. The votes also of the commons shew, that the house contained a mixture of puritans, who had acquired great authority among them, and who were continually suggesting ideas more suitable to a popular than a monarchical form of government. The natural appetite for rule made the commons lend a willing ear to every doctrine which tended to augment their own power and influence.

In 1607 a petition was moved in the lower house for a more rigorous execution of the laws against popish recusants, and an abatement towards protestant clergymen, who scrupled to observe the ceremonies. Both these points were equally unacceptable to the king; and he sent orders to the house to proceed no farther in that matter. The commons were inclined, at first, to consider these orders as a breach of privilege: but they soon acquiesced, when told that this measure of the king's was supported by many precedents during the reign of Elizabeth. The complaints of the Spanish depredations were very loud among the English merchants. The lower house sent a message to the lords on the 5th of June, desiring a conference with them, in order to their presenting a joint petition to the king on the subject. The lords took some time to deliberate on this passage: because, they said, the matter was weighty and rare: but after deliberation the house of commons began now to feel themselves of such importance, that on the motion of Sir Edwin Sandy's, a member of great authority, they entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals. When all business was finished, the king prorogued the parliament.

About this time there was an insurrection of the country people in Northamptonshire, headed by one Reynolds, a man of low condition. They went about destroying inclosures; but carefully avoided committing any other outrage. This insurrection was suppressed on the 14th of July, and though great lenity was used towards the rioters, yet were some of the ringleaders punished. The chief cause of that commotion seems to have been the practice of disusing tillage, and throwing the land into inclosures for the sake of pasture.

Next year, 1608, presents us with nothing memorable: but in the spring of the subsequent, 1609, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war, which for near half a century had been carried on with such fury between Spain and the States of the United Provinces. Never contest

seemed, at first, more unequal: never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. Spain finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the States, she at last agreed to treat with them as a free people, and solemnly to renounce all claim and pretension to their sovereignty. This chief point being gained, the treaty was easily brought to a conclusion, on the 30th of March, under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England†.

The little concern which James took in foreign affairs, renders the domestic concurrence, particularly those of parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was held in the spring of 1610; the king full of hopes of receiving supply; the commons of circumscribing his prerogative. The earl of Salisbury, now created treasurer, on the death of the earl of Dorset, laid open the king's necessities, first to the peers, then to a committee of the lower house. To all the reasons of the king and the earl of Salisbury, the commons remained inexorable: but, not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, they granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth; which would scarcely amount to a hundred thousand pounds. And James received the mortification of discovering, in vain, all his wants, and of begging aid of subjects who had no reasonable indulgence or consideration for him.

Among the many causes of disgust and quarrel, which now daily and unavoidably multiplied between prince and parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the least considerable. After the discovery and conquest of the West Indies, gold and silver became more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a height beyond what had been known since the declension of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion‡, the prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amidst the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds, in order to support the same magnificence and force which had been maintained by former monarchs. Unhappily for the king, those very riches, with the increasing knowledge of the age, bred opposite sentiments in his subjects; and begetting a spirit of freedom and independence, disposed them to pay little regard either to the entreaties or menaces of their sovereign. While the barons possessed their former immense property and extensive jurisdictions, they were apt, at every disgust, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confusion: but this confusion often, in its turn, proved favourable to the monarch, and made the nation again submit to him, in order to re-establish justice and tranquillity. The king by his prerogative alone, had some years before altered the rates of the customs, and had established impositions on several kinds of merchandize. This exercise of power will, naturally, to us, appear arbitrary and illegal; yet, according to the principles and practices of that time, it might admit of some apology§.

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\* The commons were even so averse to the union, that they had complained in the former session to the lords, of the bishop of Bristol for writing a book in favour of it; and the prelate was obliged to make submissions for this offence. The crime imputed to him seems to have consisted in his treating of a subject which lay before the Parliament. So little notion had they as yet of general liberty! See Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 101, 109, 110.

† The plan of accommodation which James recommended is found in Winwood, vol. III. p. 429, 430.; and is the same that was recommended by Henry, as we learn from Jeanin, tom. III. p. 416, 417. It had long been imagined by historians from Jeanin's authority, that James had declared to the court of Spain, that he would not support the Dutch in their pretensions to liberty and independence. But it has since been discovered by Winwood's Memorials, vol. II. p. 456, 466, 469, 475, 476. that that report was founded on a false assertion of president Richardot's.

‡ Besides the great alienation of the crown-lands, the fee-

farm rents never increased, and the other lands were let at long leases, and at a great undervalue, little or nothing above the old rent.

§ The duties of tonnage and poundage were at first granted to the crown, by a vote of parliament, and for a limited time; and as the grant frequently expired and was renewed, there could not then arise any doubt concerning the origin of the king's right to lay these duties; and this imposition, like all others, was plainly derived from the voluntary consent of the people. The parliament, when it first granted poundage to the crown, had fixed no particular rates: the imposition was given per cent. on all commodities: it was left to the king himself, and the privy council, aided by the advice of such merchants as they should think proper to consult, to fix the value of goods, and thereby the rates of the customs; and as that value had been settled before the discovery of the West-Indies, it was become much inferior to the prices which almost all commodities bore in every market in Europe; and consequently the customs on many goods, though supposed



The commons also discovered some discontent against the king's proclamation. James told them, "That though he well knew, by the constitution and policy of the kingdom, that proclamations were not of equal force with laws; yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inseparably annexed to the crown, to restrain and prevent such mischiefs and inconveniences as he saw growing on the state, against which no certain law was extant, and which might tend to the great detriment of the subject, if there should be no remedy provided till the meeting of a parliament. And this prerogative, he adds, our progenitors have, in all times, used and enjoyed." The intervals between sessions, we may observe, were frequently so long, as to render it necessary for a prince to interpose by his prerogative. The legality of this exertion was established by uniform and undisputed practice; and was even acknowledged by lawyers, who made, however, this difference between laws and proclamations, that the authority of the former was perpetual, that of the latter expired with the sovereign who emitted them. But what the authority could be which bound the subject, yet was different from the authority of laws, and inferior to it, seems inexplicable by any maxims of reason or politics: and in this instance, as in many others, it is easy to see how inaccurate the English constitution was, before the parliament was enabled, by continued acquisitions or encroachments, to establish it on fixed principles of liberty. Upon the settlement of the reformation, that extensive branch of power, which regards ecclesiastical matters, being then without an owner, seemed to belong to the first occupant; and Henry VIII. failed not immediately to seize it, and to exert it even to the utmost degree of tyranny. But James's parliaments were much less obsequious than Henry's or Elizabeth's: they ventured to lift up their eyes, and to consider this prerogative. They there saw a large province of government, possessed by the king alone, and scarcely ever communicated with the parliament. They were sensible that this province admitted not of any exact boundary or circumscription. They therefore deemed it absolutely necessary to circumscribe this branch of prerogative; and accordingly, in the preceding session, they passed a bill against the establishment of any ecclesiastical canons without consent of parliament. But the house of lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill. In this session, the commons, after passing anew the same bill, made remonstrances against the proceedings of the high commission court. But the business which chiefly occupied the commons, was the abolition of wardships and purveyance; prerogatives which had been more or less touched on, every session, during the whole reign of James.

They offered the king a settled revenue as an equivalent for the powers which he should part with; and the king was willing to hearken to terms. After much dispute, he agreed to give up these prerogatives for two hundred thousand pounds a-year, which they agreed to confer upon him\*. And nothing remained towards closing the bargain, but that the commons should determine the funds by which this sum should be levied. This session was too far advanced to bring so difficult a matter to a full conclusion; and though the parliament met again, towards the end of the year, and resumed the question, they were never able to terminate an affair upon which they seemed so intent. The journals of that session are lost; and, as the historians of this reign are very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whose importance they were not sufficiently apprised, we know not exactly the reason of this failure. It only appears, that the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and soon after dissolved it. This was his first parliament, and it sat near seven years.

Amidst all these attacks, some more, some less violent, on royal prerogative, the king displayed, as openly as ever, all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes. Even in a speech to the parliament, where he begged for supply, and where he should naturally have used every art to ingratiate himself with that assembly, he expressed himself in these terms: "I conclude then, the point touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to dispute what God may do, is blasphemy; but what God wills, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss; so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power; but just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content, that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws."

This year was distinguished by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England; the murder of the French monarch by the poinard of the fanatical Ravallac on the 3d of May. With his death the glory of the French monarchy suffered an eclipse for some years; and as that kingdom fell under an administration weak and bigotted, factious and disorderly, the Austrian greatness began anew to appear formidable to Europe. In England, the antipathy to the catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and some of the laws, which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep these religionists in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and severity.

Though James's timidity and indolence fixed him

supposed to be five per cent. was in reality much inferior. The king, therefore, was naturally led to think that rates which were now plainly false, ought to be corrected; that a valuation of commodities, fixed by one act of the privy council, might be amended by another; that if his right to poundage were inherent in the crown, he should also possess, of himself, the right of correcting its inequalities. But besides this reasoning, the king was supported in that act of power by direct precedents, some in the reign of Mary, some in the beginning of Elizabeth. That less umbrage might be taken, he was moderate in the new rates which he established: The customs, during his whole reign, rose only from one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds a-year to one hundred and ninety thousand; though besides the increase of the rates, there was a sensible increase of commerce and industry during that period: every commodity, besides, which might serve for the subsistence of the people, or might be considered as a material of manufactures, was exempted from the new impositions of James: but all this caution could not prevent the complaints of the commons. A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the house: the leading members, men of an independent genius, and large views, began to regulate their opinions, more by the future consequences which they foresaw, than by the former precedents which were set before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the ancient constitution, than at establishing a new one, and a freer and better. Though ex-

pressly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions; which was rejected by the house of lords.

§ We learn from Winwood's Memorials, vol. II. p. 195. the reason assigned for this particular sum. From whence my lord treasurer came to the price; and here he said, that the king would no more rise and fall like a merchant. That he would not have a flower of his crown (meaning the court of wards) so much tossed; that it was too dainty to be so handled: and then he said, that he must deliver the very countenance and character of the king's mind out of his own hand writing: which, before he read, he said he would acquaint us with a pleasant conceit of his majesty. "As concerning the number of nine score thousand pounds, which was our number, he could not effect, because nine was the number of poets, who were already beggars, though they served so many muses; and eleven was the number of the apostles, when the traitor, Judas, was away; and therefore might best be affected by his majesty: but there was a mean number, which might accord us both; and that was ten: which, says my lord treasurer, is a sacred number; for so many were God's commandments, which tend to virtue and edification." If the commons really voted twenty thousand pounds a-year more, on account of this pleasant conceit of the king and the treasurer, it was certainly the best paid wit, for its goodness, that ever was in the world.

during



during most of his reign, in a very prudent inattention to foreign affairs, there happened, in 1611, an event in Europe of such mighty consequence as to rouse him from his lethargy, and summon up all his zeal and enterprise. A professor of divinity, named Vorstius, the disciple of Arminius, was called from a German to a Dutch university: and as he differed from his Britannic Majesty in some nice questions concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was considered as a dangerous rival in scholastic fame, and was, at last, obliged to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whose syllogisms he might have refuted or eluded. If vigour was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even with haughtiness and insolence; and the States were obliged, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his chair, and to banish him their dominions. The king carried no farther his animosity against that professor; though he had hinted to the States, "That, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemy and atheism, he left them to their own christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames\*."

After the subjection of Ireland by Elizabeth, the task still remained to civilize the inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James succeeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan; and in the space of nine years, according to Sir John Davis, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been in the four hundred and forty-four years which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted. It was previously necessary to abolish the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder†.

Having abolished the Irish customs, and substituted English law in their place: James took all the natives under his protection, in 1612, and declared them free citizens; after which he proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A small army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. All minds being first quieted by a general indemnity, circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. As the Irish had been universally engaged in the rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights, which

had been formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions, was rigorously exacted; and no authority, but that of the king and the law, was permitted throughout the kingdom. A resignation of all private estates was even required; and when they were restored, the proprietors received them under such conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and oppression over the common people. The value of the dues, which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals, was estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties. The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London, for planting new colonies in that fertile country; the property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres: tenants were brought over from England; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; husbandry and the arts were taught them; a fixed habitation secured; plunder and robbery punished; and by these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized. Such were the arts, by which James introduced humanity and justice among the people, who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism.

The sudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, in November, 1612, diffused an universal grief throughout the nation‡. Violent reports were propagated, as if Henry had been carried off by poison; but the physicians on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm such an opinion.

The marriage of the princess Elizabeth, with Frederic, elector palatine, was finished some time after the death of the prince, and served to dissipate the grief which arose on that melancholy event. But this marriage, though celebrated, February 14, 1613, with great joy and festivity, proved itself an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his son-in-law, and had ill consequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength: and the king, not being able to support him in his distress, lost entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and esteem of his own subjects.

Except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation. An interesting object had, for some years, engaged the attention of the court: this was Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age§.

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\* It is to be remarked, that, at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics still prevailed, even in protestant countries; and instances were not wanting in England during the reign of James.

† By the Brehon law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itself, as among all the ancient barbarous nations, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value fixed to him, which if any were willing to pay, he needed not fear assassinating his enemy. This rate was called his eric. When Sir William Fitzwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which, a little before, had been made a county, and subjected to the English law; "Your sheriff, said Maguire, shall be welcome to me; but let me know, before hand, his eric, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county." The land, by the custom of Gavelkind, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate: and, after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons; but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to enclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour. The chieftains and the tanist, though drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority

was almost absolute; and notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. Hence arose that common bye-word among the Irish, "That they dwell westward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow," meaning the country where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

‡ Though youth and royal birth, both of them strong allurements, prepossession mightily in favour of the early age of princes; it is with peculiar fondness that historians mention Henry: and in every respect, his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he already possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition seem to have been his sole passion: his inclinations, as well as exercises, were martial. The French ambassador taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike. "Tell your king, said he, in what occupation you left me engaged." He had conceived great affection and esteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh. It was his saying, "Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage."

§ This favourite was of a good family in Scotland. He arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels, about the end of the year 1609. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: all his acquired abilities, in an



As soon as James had ascended the throne of England, he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the farther pleasure of uniting these families by the marriage of the earl of Essex with lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, till both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad and pass some time in his travels. He returned into England after four years' absence, and was pleased to find his countess in the full lustre of beauty, and possessed of the love and admiration of the whole court. But, when the earl approached, and claimed the privileges of a husband, he met with nothing but symptoms of aversion and disgust, and a flat refusal of any farther familiarities. He applied to her parents, who constrained her to attend him into the country, and to partake of his bed: but nothing could overcome her rigid fullness and obstinacy; and she still rose from his side, without having shared the nuptial pleasures. Disgusted with reiterated denials, he at last gave over the pursuit, and separating himself from her, thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and discretion. Such coldness and aversion in lady Essex, arose not without an attachment to another object. The favourite had opened his addresses, and had been too successful in making impression on the tender heart of the young countess. She imagined that, so long as she refused the embraces of Essex, she never could be deemed his wife, and that a separation and divorce might still open the way for a new marriage with her beloved Rochester. Though their passion was so violent, and their opportunities of intercourse so frequent, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, they still lamented their unhappy fate, while the union between them was not entire and insoluble. And the lover, as well as his mistress, was impatient, till their mutual ardour should be crowned by marriage. This momentous affair could

not be concluded without consulting Overbury, with whom Rochester was accustomed to share all his secrets. While that faithful friend had considered his patron's attachment to the countess of Essex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progress; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and passionate letters which he dictated, that Rochester had met with such success in his addresses. Like an experienced courtier, he thought that a conquest of this nature would throw a lustre on the young favourite, and would tend still farther to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and listened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rochester mentioned the design of marrying the countess; and he used every method to dissuade his friend from so foolish an attempt. He represented how invidious, how difficult an enterprize to procure her a divorce from her husband: how dangerous, how shameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and to bestow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion. And, in the zeal of friendship, he went so far as to threaten Rochester, that he would separate himself for ever from him, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage. Rochester had the weakness to reveal this conversation to the countess of Essex; and when her rage and fury broke out against Overbury, he had also the weakness to enter into her vindictive projects, and to swear vengeance against his friend, for the utmost instance, which he could receive, of his faithful friendship. Some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their purpose. Rochester addressed himself to the king; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begotten in him a degree of arrogance, which was extremely disagreeable, he procured a commission for his embassy to Russia; which he represented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When consulted by Overbury, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himself the office of satisfying the king, if he should be any wise displeased with the refusal. To the

an easy air and graceful demeanor. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman lord Hay; and that nobleman so soon cast his eye upon him, than he discovered talents sufficient to entitle him immediately to make a great figure in the government. Apprized of the king's passion for youth and beauty, and exterior appearance, he studied how matters might be so managed that this new object should make the strongest impression upon him. Without mentioning him at court, he assigned him the office, at a match at tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device; and hoped that he would attract the attention of the monarch. Fortune proved favourable to his design, by an incident which bore at first a contrary aspect: when Carré was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse flung him, and broke his leg in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern: love and affection arose on the sight of his beauty and tender years; and the prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended. He himself, after the tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and frequently returned during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the boy finished the conquest, begun by his exterior graces and accomplishments. Other princes have been fond of choosing such favourites from among the lower rank of their subjects, and have reposed themselves on them with the more unreserved confidence and affection, because the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honour and acquisition: James was desirous that his favourite should also derive from him all his sense, experience, and knowledge. Highly content of his own wisdom, he pleased himself with the fancy, that this raw youth, by his lessons and instructions, would, in a little time, be equal to his sagest ministers, and be initiated into all the profound mysteries of government, on which he set so high a value. And as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he seems to have indulged an unlimited fondness for his minion, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. He soon knighted him, created him viscount Rochelle, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy-council; and though at first, without af-

signing him any particular office, bestowed on him the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns. Agreeable to this rapid advancement in confidence and honour, were the riches heaped upon the needy favourite; and while Salisbury and all the wisest ministers could scarcely find expedients sufficient to keep in motion the overburdened machine of government, James, with unsparing hand, loaded with treasures this insignificant and useless pageant. It is said, that the king found his pupil so ill educated, as to be ignorant, even of the lowest rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aside the sceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and instructed him in principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of state would be introduced; and the stripling, by the ascendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical, instruction. The favourite was not, at first, so intoxicated with advancement, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend; and he was more fortunate in his choice, than is usual with such pampered minions. In Sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and sincere counsellor; who, building all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favourite, endeavoured to instil into him the principles of prudence and discretion. By zealously serving every body, Carré was taught to abate the envy which might attend his sudden elevation: by shewing preference for the English, he learned to escape the prejudices which prevailed against his country. And so long as he was content to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counsels, he enjoyed, what is rare, the highest favour of the prince, without being hated by the people. To complete the measure of courtly happiness, nought was wanting but a kind mistress; and, where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to attain. But it was here that the favourite met with that rock on which all his fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.



king again he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower on the 21st of April, which James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower was a creature of Rochester's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpose: he confined Overbury so strictly, that the unhappy prisoner was debarred the sight even of his nearest relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near six months which he lived in prison. This obstacle being removed, the lovers pursued their purpose; and the king himself, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. Essex also embraced the opportunity of separating himself from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to favour their success by any honourable expedient. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confessed, that, with regard to the countess, he was conscious of such an infirmity, though he was not sensible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too a young virgin was substituted under a mask, to undergo a legal inspection by a jury of matrons. After such a trial, seconded by court-influence, and supported by the ridiculous opinion of fascination or witchcraft, the sentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Essex and his countess. And to crown the scene, the king, solicitous lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage, bestowed on his minion the title of the earl of Somerset. Notwithstanding this success, the countess of Somerset was not satisfied, till she should farther satiate her revenge on Overbury; and she engaged her husband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak poisons; but, at last, they gave him one so sudden and violent, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him\*. His interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation; and though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after.

The earl of Salisbury, the ablest minister that James ever possessed, died May 14, 1612, and was succeeded by Suffolk, a man of slender capacity: and it was now his task to supply, from an exhausted treasury, the profusion of James and of his young favourite. The title of baronet, invented by Salisbury, was sold; and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood were disposed of for so many thousand pounds: each rank of nobility had also its price affixed to it. Privy-seals were circulated to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds: benevolences were exacted to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds: and some monopolies of no great value were erected. But all these expedients proved insufficient to supply the king's necessities; even though he began to enter into some schemes for retrenching his expences. However small the hopes of success, a new parliament must be summoned, and when the commons were assembled, they discovered an extraordinary alarm, on account of the rumour which was spread abroad concerning undertakers†. About this time a seat in parliament began to be regarded as an honour, and the country-gentlemen contended for it; though the practice of levying wages for the parliament-men was not altogether discontinued. It was not till long after, when liberty was thoroughly established, and popular assemblies entered into every branch of public business, that the members began to join profit

to honour, and the crown found it necessary to distribute among them all the considerable offices of the kingdom.

This house of commons shewed rather a stronger spirit of liberty than the foregoing; and instead of entering upon the business of supply, as urged by the king, they immediately resumed the subject which had been opened last parliament, and disputed his majesty's power of levying new customs and impositions, by the mere authority of his prerogative‡. The commons applied to the lords for a conference with regard to the new impositions. A speech of Neile, bishop of Lincoln, reflecting on the lower house, begat some altercation with the peers; and the king seized the opportunity of dissolving, on the 6th of June, with great indignation, a parliament which had shewn so firm a resolution of retrenching his prerogative, without communicating, in return, the smallest supply to his necessities. He even threw into prison some of the members, who had been the most forward in their opposition to his measures. But the people and the parliament would not abandon their liberties and privileges. It is evident that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts must soon destroy each other, and from the dissolution of the old, beget some new form of civil government more uniform and consistent.

Hitherto the favourite had escaped the enquiry of justice; but he had not escaped that still voice which can make itself be heard amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court, and astonishes the criminal with a just representation of his most secret enormities. Conscious of the murder of his friend, Somerset received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the kindness of his sovereign. The grace of his youth gradually disappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obscured, his polite behaviour was changed to fullness; and the king began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The sagacious courtiers observed the first symptoms of this disgust: Somerset's enemies seized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the king. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned from his travels in 1615, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy he was purposely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the same instant, the affections of that monarch. Ashamed of his sudden attachment, the king endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handsome stranger, and he employed all his profound politics to fix him in his service, without seeming to desire it. He declared his resolution not to confer any office on him, unless entreated by the queen; and he pretended, that it should only be in compliance to her choice he would agree to admit him near his person. The queen was immediately applied to; but she, well knowing the extreme to which the king carried these attachments, refused, at first, to lend her countenance to this new passion. It was not till entreated by Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a decent prelate, and one much prejudiced against Somerset, that she would condescend to oblige her husband, by asking this favour of him. And the king, thinking now that all appearances were saved, no longer constrained his affection, but immediately bestowed the office of cup-bearer on young Villiers. The whole court was thrown into parties between the two minions; while some endeavoured to advance the rising fortunes of Villiers, others deemed it

\* He was poisoned September 16, 1613.

† It was reported, that several persons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy; and having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had distributed their interest all over England, and had undertaken to secure a majority for the court.

‡ It is remarkable that, in their debates on this subject, the

courtiers frequently pleaded, as a precedent, the example of all the other hereditary monarchs in Europe, and particularly mentioned the kings of France and Spain; nor was this reasoning received by the house, either with surprize or indignation. The members of the opposite party either contented themselves with denying the justness of the inference, or they disputed the truth of the observation.



safer to adhere to the established credit of Somerset. The king himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the stern jealousy of the old favourite, who refused every advance of friendship from his rival, begat perpetual quarrels between these several partizans. But the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury, at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so justly merited\*. All the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the punishment due to their crime: but the king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the countess. To soften the rigour of their fate, after some years imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other.

Somerset's fall and banishment from court, opened the way for Villiers to rise up at once to the height of favour, of honours, and of riches. In the course of a few years the king created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham: his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond prince, while he meant to play the tutor with his favourite, and to train him up in the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honours, to render him for ever rash, precipitate, and insolent.

When queen Elizabeth advanced money for the support of the infant republic of the States of Holland, besides the view of securing herself against the power and ambition of Spain, she still reserved the prospect of reimbursement; and she got consigned into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins, as pledges for the money due to her. Indulgent to the necessitous condition of the States, she agreed that the debt should bear no interest; and she stipulated, that if ever England should make a separate peace with Spain, she should pay the troops which garrisoned those fortresses. After the truce was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, the States made an agreement with the king, that the debt, which then amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, should be discharged by yearly payments of forty thousand pounds; and as five years had elapsed, the debt was now reduced to six hundred thousand pounds; and in fifteen years more, if the truce were renewed, it would be finally extinguished. But of this sum, twenty-six thousand pounds a-year were expended on the pay of the garrison: the remainder alone accrued to the king: and the States, weighing these circumstances, thought, that they made James a very advantageous offer, when they expressed their willingness, on the surrender of the cautionary towns, to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thousand

pounds, and to incorporate the English garrisons in their army. It occurred also to the king, that even the payment of the forty thousand pounds a-year was precarious, and depended on the accident that the truce should be renewed between Spain and the republic: if war broke out, the maintenance of the garrisons lay upon England alone; a burden very useless and too heavy for the slender revenues of that kingdom: that even during the truce, the Dutch, straitened by other expences, were far from being regular in their payments; and the garrisons were at present in danger of mutinying for want of subsistence; that the annual sum of fourteen thousand pounds, the whole saving on the Dutch payments, amounted, in fifteen years, to no more than two hundred and ten thousand pounds; whereas two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were offered immediately, a larger sum, and if money be computed at ten *per cent.* the current interest, more than double the sum to which England was entitled; these reasons, together with his urgent wants, induced the king to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the cautionary towns on the 16th of June, 1616, which held the states in a degree of subjection, and which an ambitious and enterprising prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

In May 1617, the king was resolved to pay a visit to his native country, in order to renew his ancient friendships and connections, and to introduce that change of ecclesiastical discipline and government, on which he was extremely intent†. When the Scottish nation was first seized with that zeal for reformation, which has proved so salutary in its consequences; the preachers, assuming a character little inferior to the prophetic or apostolical, disdained all subjection to the spiritual rulers of the church, by whom their innovations were punished and opposed. The revenues of the dignified clergy, no longer considered as sacred, were either appropriated by the present possessors, or seized by the more powerful barons; and what remained, after mighty dilapidations, was, by act of parliament, annexed to the crown. The prelates, however, and abbots, maintained their temporal jurisdictions and their seats in parliament; and though laymen were sometimes endowed with ecclesiastical titles, the church, notwithstanding its frequent protestations to the contrary, was still supposed to be represented by those spiritual lords, in the states of the kingdom. After many struggles the king, even before his accession to the throne of England, (in 1598,) had acquired sufficient influence over the Scottish clergy to extort from them an acknowledgement of the parliamentary jurisdiction of bishops; though attended with many precautions, in order to secure themselves against the spiritual encroachments of that order. When king of England he engaged them, (in 1606,) though still with greater reluctance on their part, to advance a step farther, and to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents or moderators in their ecclesiastical synods; reiterating their protestations against all spiritual jurisdiction of the prelates, and all controlling power over the presbyters. And by such gradual innovations, the king flattered himself that he should quietly introduce episcopal authority: but as his final scope was fully seen from the beginning, every new advance gave fresh occasion of discontent, and aggra-

\* An apothecary's prentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret, and the affair at last came to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By this means, Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed of it, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. The king, alarmed and astonished to find such enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his bosom, sent for Sir Edward Coke, chief justice, and earnestly recommended to him the most rigorous and unbiassed scrutiny. This injunction was executed with great industry and severity: the

whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled: the lesser criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, and Mrs. Turner, were first tried and condemned: Somerset and his countess were afterwards found guilty: Northampton's death, a little before, had saved him from a like fate.

† The three chief points of this kind which James proposed to accomplish by his journey to Scotland, were, the enlarging of episcopal authority, the establishing of a few ceremonies in public worship, and the fixing of a superiority in the civil above the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.



vated the abhorrence entertained against the prelacy. What rendered the king's aim more apparent were, the endeavours which he used to introduce into Scotland some of the ceremonies of the church of England: the rest it was easily foreseen, would soon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by opposition, had so possessed the minds of the Scottish reformers, that all rites and ornaments, and even order of worship, were disdainfully rejected as useless burthens. A mode of worship was established, the most naked and most simple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the senses; but reposed itself entirely on the contemplation of that divine essence, which discovers itself to the understanding only. Notwithstanding this, James endeavoured to infuse a small tincture of ceremony into the national worship, and to introduce such rites as might, in some degree, occupy the mind, and please the senses, without departing too far from that simplicity, by which the reformation was distinguished. The finer arts too, though still rude in these northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the king's chapel, in which an organ was erected, and some pictures and statues displayed, was proposed as a model to the rest of the nation. But music was grating to the prejudiced ears of the Scottish clergy: sculpture and painting appeared instruments of idolatry; the surplice was a rag of popery; and every motion or gesture prescribed by the liturgy, was a step towards that spiritual Babylon, so much the object of their horror and aversion. Every thing was deemed impious, but their own comments on the Scriptures. It will not be necessary to give a particular account of the ceremonies which the king was so intent to establish. It suffices here to remark, that the rites introduced by James regarded the kneeling at the sacrament, private communion, private baptism, confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals. The acts establishing these ceremonies, were afterwards known by the name of the articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the assembly\*.

By the extravagant power usurped by the ecclesiastics, and by the patient conduct of James, the church began to lose ground, even before the king's accession to the throne of England: but no sooner had that event taken place, than he made the Scottish clergy sensible, that he was become the sovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Though formerly he would have thought himself happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and ecclesiastical authority, he was now resolved to exert a supreme jurisdiction in church as well as state, and to put

an end to their seditious practices. An assembly had been summoned at Aberdeen in July 1604; but on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following. Some of the clergy, disavowing his ecclesiastical supremacy, met at the time first appointed, notwithstanding his prohibition. He threw them into prison. Such of them as submitted, and acknowledged their error, were pardoned: the rest were brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treason: the king gave them their lives; but banished them the kingdom: six of them suffered their penalty. The general assembly was induced, June 6, 1610, to acknowledge the king's authority in summoning ecclesiastical courts, and to submit to the jurisdiction and visitation of the bishops. Even their favourite sentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unless confirmed by the ordinary. The king recommended to the inferior courts and members whom they should elect to this assembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty. By his own prerogative likewise the king erected a court of high commission on the 15th of February following, in imitation of that which was established in England. The bishops and a few of the clergy, who had been summoned, willingly acknowledged this court; and it proceeded immediately upon business, as if its authority had been grounded on the full consent of the whole legislature. But James reserved the final blow for the 13th of June, when he should have paid a visit to Scotland. He proposed to the parliament, which was then assembled, that they should enact, that, "Whatever his majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the force of law." Had this bill passed, his ecclesiastical authority would have been established in its full extent. Some of the clergy protested, James dreading clamour and opposition dropped the bill, and asserted, that the inherent prerogative of the crown contained more power than was recognized by it. On the 10th of July, he called, at St. Andrew's, a meeting of the bishops and thirty-six of the most eminent clergy. He there declared his resolution of exerting his prerogative, and of establishing, by his own authority, the few ceremonies which he had recommended to them. They entreated him rather to summon a general assembly, and to gain their assent. An assembly was accordingly summoned to meet on the 25th of November ensuing†.

James observed, in his progress through England, that a judaical observance of the Sunday chiefly by means of the puritans, was every day gaining ground throughout the kingdom, and that the people were,

\* A conformity of discipline and worship between the churches of England and Scotland, which was James's aim, he never could hope to establish, but by first procuring an acknowledgement of his own authority in all spiritual causes; and nothing could be more contrary to the practice as well as principles of the presbyterian clergy. The ecclesiastical courts possessed the power of pronouncing excommunication; and that sentence, besides the spiritual consequences supposed to follow from it, was attended with immediate effects of the most important nature. The person excommunicated was shunned by every one as profane and impious; and his whole estate, during his life-time, and all his moveables, for ever, were forfeited to the crown. Nor were the previous steps, requisite before pronouncing this sentence, formal or regular, in proportion to the weight of it. Without accuser, without summons, without trial, any ecclesiastical court, however inferior, sometimes pretended, in a summary manner, to denounce excommunication, for any cause, and against any person, even though he lived not within the bounds of their jurisdiction. And by this means, the whole tyranny of the inquisition, though without its order, was introduced into the kingdom. But the clergy were not content with the unlimited jurisdiction which they exercised in ecclesiastical matters: they assumed a censorial power over every part of administration; and, in all their sermons, and even prayers, mingling politics with religion, they inculcated the most seditious and most turbulent principles. Black, minister of St. Andrew's, went so

far, in a sermon preached in 1596, as to pronounce all kings the devil's children; he gave the queen of England the appellation of Atheist; he said, that the treachery of the king's heart was now fully discovered; and in his prayers for the queen he used these words; "We must pray for her for the nation's sake, but we have no cause: she will never do us any good." When summoned before the privy-council, he refused to answer to a civil court for any thing delivered from the pulpit, even though the crime of which he was accused, was of a civil nature. The church adopted his cause. They raised a sedition in Edinburgh in December, 1596. The king, during some time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himself. A few days after, a minister, preaching in the principal church of that capital, said, that the king was possessed with a devil; and, that one devil had expelled seven worse had entered into his place. To which he added, that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand. Scarcely, even during the darkest night of papal superstition, are there found such instances of priestly encroachments, as the annals of Scotland present to us during that period.

† This assembly, which met after the king's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications; and it was not till the subsequent year, that he was able to procure a vote for receiving his ceremonies.



contrary to former practice, debarred such sports and recreations as heretofore they were known to have indulged. The king imagined, that the people were become gloomy, and that it would be easy to infuse into their minds a greater degree of cheerfulness. With this view he issued a proclamation to allow and encourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises; and, by his authority, he endeavoured to give sanction to a practice which his subjects regarded as the utmost instance of profaneness and impiety.

Sir Walter Raleigh, during his confinement (about thirteen years) wrote his History of the World. From his long imprisonment the public hatred was turned into compassion; and to increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a golden mine, which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king, who gave little credit to these mighty promises, but thinking that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, released him from the Tower; and when his vaunts of the golden mine had induced multitudes to engage with him, the king gave them permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, he conferred on Raleigh authority over his fellow-adventurers. Though strongly solicited, he still refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was entrusted with power and command. But James declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence as a check upon his future behaviour. Raleigh well knew, that it was far from the king's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: he therefore firmly denied that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coast where his mine lay. When Gondomar, the ambassador of that nation, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the king, Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions: and James assured Gondomar, that he durst not form any hostile attempt, but should pay with his head for so audacious an enterprize. The minister, however, concluding that twelve armed vessels were not fitted out without some purpose of invasion, conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their settlements, particularly those along the coast of Guiana. When the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to shew themselves superior to the barbarous heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: they applied to Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair; and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern parts of the globe. The more scrupulous protestants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of their title; and if a pirate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves entitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and though he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain and indefeazable. But it happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing, or not acknowledging this imaginary claim; had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Orinoco, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value. To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and, remaining himself at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas,

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under the command of his son, and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men called out, "That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others: they carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing of value. Raleigh did not pretend, that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of: it was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promised such immense treasures. Yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours' march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprize. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life. The other adventurers now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprizes; and that he trusted to the money he should acquire, for making his peace with England; or if that view failed him, that he purposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat. The small acquisitions by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty and late transactions between the nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards. Raleigh's companions being disappointed, thought it best to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. It appears that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and, failing of that, to make his escape into France: but all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow adventurers, before the privy-council. The council, upon enquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing, that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded; that he had abused the king in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his instructions, he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his majesty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the king of Spain. He might have been tried, either by common law for this act of violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders: but it was an established principle among lawyers, that as he lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To satisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, which raised the loudest complaints against him, the king made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence. Raleigh finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and though he had formerly made use of many mean artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination and procure his escape, he now resolved to act his part with bravery and resolution. "It is a sharp remedy, he said, but a sure one for all ills," when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himself, and



to load his enemies with the public hatred. With the utmost indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow, on the 29th of October, 1618. In his death there appeared the same great, but ill regulated mind, which, during his life, had displayed itself in all his conduct and behaviour\*.

The court of Spain amused James with frivolous negotiations, with a view to procure his neutrality respecting the succession of Cleves, which was disputed between the protestant and popish line: but the bait did not then take; and James, in consequence of his alliance with the Dutch, and with Henry IV. of France, marched four thousand men, in 1610, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, who joined these two powers, and put the marquis of Brandenburg and the palatine of Newbrough in possession of that duchy.

Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in England, was a man whose flattery was the more artful, because covered with the appearance of frankness and sincerity; whose politics were the more dangerous, because disguised under the mask of mirth and pleasantry. He now made offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune, which would attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted; and amidst every disappointment, they still redoubled his hopes of success. The transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct.

On the death of the emperor Matthias in March, 1619, Ferdinand of Austria, his cousin and adopted son, was proclaimed king of Bohemia; and in August following, Ferdinand V. elector palatine, and James his son-in-law, was elected king of Bohemia. His acceptance of this high honour greatly offended James, and he endeavoured to persuade Frederic to quit it. The news of these events no sooner reached England, than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater, with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. The nation was, as yet, sincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs, and they considered their connection with the palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very close and intimate. But James, besides that his temper was too little enterprising for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive, which had a mighty influence over him: he refused to patronize the revolt of subjects against their sovereign. From the very first he denied to his son-in-law the title of king of Bohemia: he forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation: and though he owned that he had no wife examined the pretensions, privileges, and constitution of the revolted states, that he concluded subjects must ever be in the wrong, when they stood in opposition to those who had acquired or assumed that majestic title†.

Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In 1620, Spinola collected an army of thirty thousand men in the Low Countries. When Edmonds, the king's resident

at Brussels, made remonstrances to the arch-duke Albert, he was answered, that the orders for this armament had been transmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the secret destination of it. Spinola again told the minister, that his orders were still sealed; but, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full satisfaction. It was more easy to see his intentions, than to prevent their success. Almost at one time, it was known in England that Frederic, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had invaded the palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of two thousand four hundred men, commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere, had, in a little time, reduced the greater part of that principality. Complaints against James's neutrality and inactive disposition now ran high. The happiness and tranquillity of their own country became distasteful to the English, when they reflected on the grievances and distresses of their protestant brethren in Germany.

James made use of several arguments to defend his pacific measures: but these seem not to have been the sole motives which swayed him. He had entertained the notion, that, as his own justice and moderation had shewn out so conspicuously throughout all these transactions, the whole house of Austria, though not awed by the power of England, would willingly, from mere respect to his virtue, submit themselves to so equitable an arbitration. He flattered himself that after he had formed an intimate connection with the Spanish monarch, by means of his son's marriage, the restitution of the palatinate might be produced, from the motive alone of friendship and personal attachment. His unwearied disposition, increased by age, riveted him still faster in his errors, and determined him to seek the restoration of his son-in-law, by remonstrances and entreaties, by arguments, and embassies, rather than by blood and violence. And the same defects of courage which held him in awe of foreign nations, made him likewise afraid of shocking the prejudices of his own subjects, and kept him from openly avowing the measures which he was determined to pursue. Or perhaps, he hoped to turn these prejudices to account; and, by their means, engage his people to furnish him with supplies, of which their excessive frugality had hitherto made them so sparing and reserved. He first tried the expedient of a benevolence or free-gift from individuals; pretending the urgency of the case, which would not admit of leisure for any other measure: but the jealousy of liberty was now roused, and the nation regarded these pretended benevolences as real extortions, contrary to law, and dangerous to freedom, however authorized by ancient precedent. A parliament was found to be the only resource which could furnish any large supplies, and writs were accordingly issued for summoning that great council of the nation‡.

In this parliament, which met June 16, 1621, there appeared, at first, nothing but duty and submission on the part of the commons; and they seemed determined to sacrifice every thing, in order to maintain a good correspondence with their prince. They would allow no mention to be made of the new customs or impositions which had been so eagerly disputed in the former

\* No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction than the punishment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To execute a sentence which was originally so hard, which had been so long suspended, (it was passed against him in 1603;) and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new trust and commission, was deemed an instance of cruelty and injustice. To sacrifice, to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation who had a high reputation for valour and military experience, was regarded as meanness and indiscretion: and the intimate connections which the king was now entering into with Spain, being universally distasteful, rendered this proof of

his complaisance still more invidious and unpopular.

† Thus, even in measures founded on true politics, James intermixed so many narrow prejudices, as diminished his authority, and exposed him to the imputation of weakness and error.

‡ This parliament is remarkable for being the epoch in which were regularly formed, though without acquiring these denominations, the parties of court and country; parties which have ever since continued, and which while they threaten the total dissolution of the government, are the real causes of its permanent life and vigour.



parliament. The imprisonment of the members of that parliament was here, by some, complained of; but, by the authority of the graver and more prudent part of the house, that grievance was buried in oblivion: and being informed that the king had remitted several considerable sums to the palatine, the commons, without a negative, voted him two subsidies. They afterwards proceeded to the examination of grievances. They found, that patents had been granted to Sir Giles Mompeffon and Sir Francis Michel, for licensing inns and ale-houses; that great sums of money had been exacted, under pretext of these licences; and that such inn-keepers as presumed to continue their business, without satisfying the rapacity of the patentees, had been severely punished by fine, imprisonment, and vexatious prosecutions. The same persons had also procured a patent, which they shared with Sir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the sole making of gold and silver thread and lace, and had obtained very extraordinary powers for preventing any rivalry in these manufactures\*. This grievance appeared the greater when it was considered, that the lace which had been manufactured by the patentees was universally found to be adulterated, and to be composed more of copper than of the precious metals. These grievances the commons represented to the king: and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He seemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himself ashamed, that such abuses, unknowingly to him, had crept into his administration. "I assure you," said he, "that had I before heard these things complained of, I would have done the office of a just king, and out of parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more, than you now intend to do." A sentence was passed for the punishment of Michel and Mompeffon: it was executed on the former. The latter broke prison and escaped. Villiers was, at that time, sent purposely on a foreign employment; and his guilt being less enormous, or less apparent, than that of the others, he was the more easily protected by the credit of his brother Buckingham. Encouraged by this success, the commons carried their scrutiny into other abuses of importance. The great seal was in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created viscount St. Alban's; a man universally admired for the greatness of his genius, and beloved for the courtesousness and humanity of his behaviour. He was the great ornament of his age and nation; and nought was wanting to render him the ornament of human nature itself, but that strength of mind which might check his intemperate desire of preferment, that could add nothing to his dignity, and might restrain his profuse inclination to expence, that could be requisite neither for his honour nor entertainment. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to servants, had involved him in necessities; and in order to supply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes, by the title of presents, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery. It appears that it had been usual for former chancellors to take presents; and it is pretended that Bacon, who followed the same dangerous practice, had still preserved the integrity of a judge, and had given just decrees against those very persons, from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. Complaints at last reached the house of commons, and the members sent up an impeachment against him to the peers. The chancellor, conscious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his judges, and endea-

voured, by a general avowal, to escape the confusion of a stricter enquiry. The lords insisted on a particular confession of all his corruptions. He acknowledged twenty-eight articles; and was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court †.

The commons had entertained the idea, that they were the great patrons of the people, and that the redress of all grievances must proceed from them; and to this principle they were chiefly beholden. In the execution of this office, they now kept their ears open to complaints of every kind; and they carried their researches into many grievances, which, though of no great importance, could not be touched on, without sensibly affecting the king and his ministers. The prerogative seemed every moment to be invaded; the king's authority, in every article, was disputed; and James, who was willing to correct the abuses of his power, would not submit to have his power itself questioned and denied. After the house had sitten near six months, and had brought no considerable business to a full conclusion, the king resolved to interrupt their proceedings; and he sent them word, that he was determined, in a little time, to adjourn them till next winter. The commons made application to the lords, and desired them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment: which was refused by the upper house. The king regarded this project of a joint petition as an attempt to force him from his measures: he thanked the peers, for their refusal to concur in it, and told them, that, if it were their desire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not so far comply with the request of the lower house. And thus, in these great national affairs, the same peevishness, which, in private altercations, often raises a quarrel from the smallest beginnings, produced a mutual coldness and disgust between the king and the commons. During the recess of parliament, the king used every measure to render himself popular with the nation, and to appease the rising ill humour of their representatives. He had voluntarily offered the parliament to circumscribe his own prerogative, and to abrogate for the future his power of granting monopolies. He now recalled all the patents of that kind, and redressed every article of grievance, to the number of thirty-seven, which had ever been complained of in the house of commons. But he gained not the end which he proposed. The disgust, which had appeared at parting, could not so suddenly be dispelled. He had likewise been so imprudent as to commit to prison Sir Edwin Sandys, without any known cause, besides his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as a member of parliament. And, above all, the transactions in Germany were sufficient, when joined to the king's cautions, negotiations, and delays, to inflame that jealousy of honour and religion which prevailed throughout the nation. This summer, the ban of the empire had been published against the elector palatine; and the execution of it was committed to the duke of Bavaria. The upper palatinate was, in a little time, conquered by that prince; and measures were taking in the empire for bestowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the palatine was deposed. Frederic now lived with his numerous family, in poverty and distress, either in Holland, or at Sedan, with his uncle the duke of Bouillon. And

\* They were armed with authority to search for all goods, which might interfere with their patent; and even to punish, at their own will and discretion, the makers, importers, and vendors of such commodities.

† This dreadful sentence, dreadful to a man of nice sensibility to honour, he survived five years; and, being released in a little time from the Tower, his genius, yet unbroken, supported itself amidst involved circumstances and a depressed spirit, and shone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weaknesses be forgotten or overlooked by posterity.

In consideration of his great merit, the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his sentence, conferred on him a large pension of one thousand eight hundred pounds a-year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes. And that great philosopher, at last, acknowledged with regret, that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and by plunging into business and affairs, which required much less capacity, but greater firmness of mind, than the pursuits of learning, had exposed himself to such grievous calamities.

throughout



throughout all the new conquests, in both the palatinates, as well as in Bohemia, Austria, and Lusatia, the progress of the Austrian arms was attended with rigours and severities, exercised against the professors of the reformed religion. The zeal of the commons immediately moved them, upon their assembling, November 14, to take all these transactions into consideration. They framed a remonstrance, which they intended to carry to the king. They represented, that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the catholic religion in England bred the most melancholy apprehensions, lest it should again acquire an ascendant in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his majesty, towards the professors of that religion had encouraged their insolence and temerity; that the uncontrolled conquests, made by the Austrian family in Germany, raised mighty expectations in the English papists; but above all, that the prospect of the Spanish match elevated them so far as to hope for an entire toleration, if not the final re-establishment of their religion. The commons, therefore, entreated his majesty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatine, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn his sword against Spain, whose armies and treasures were the chief support of the catholic interest in Europe; that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son but with a protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and be committed to the care of protestant teachers and school-masters; and that the fines and confiscations, to which the catholics were by law amenable, should be levied with the utmost severity. By this bold step the commons attacked at once all the king's favourite maxims of government; his cautious and pacific measures, his lenity towards the Romish religion, and his attachment to the Spanish alliance, from which he promised himself such mighty advantages. But what most disgusted him was, their seeming invasion of his prerogative, and their pretending, under colour of advice, to direct his conduct in such points as had ever been acknowledged to belong solely to the management and direction of the sovereign. He was, at that time, absent at Newmarket; but upon hearing of the intended remonstrance of the commons, he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the house for openly debating upon matters far above their reach and capacity, and he strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with the daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any other of his friends and confederates. In order to intimidate them, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and told them that he intended thenceforward to chastise any man, whose insolent behaviour there should minister occasion of offence. This violent letter inflamed rather than terrified the commons; and in a new remonstrance they insisted on their former remonstrance and advice; and maintained that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government; that, to possess entire freedom of speech, in

their debates on public business, was their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors; and that, if any member abused this liberty, it belonged to the house alone, who were witnesses of his offence, to inflict a proper censure upon him. So vigorous an answer was nowise calculated to appease the king. It is said, when the approach of the committee who were to present it was notified to him, he ordered two chairs to be brought: for that there were so many kings a-coming. His answer was prompt and sharp. He told the house, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful subjects: that their pretension to inquire into all state affairs, without exception, was such a plenipotence as none of their ancestors had ever pretended to; that public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better shew their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere; he concluded with these memorable words: "And though we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us, (for the most of them grew from precedents) which shews rather a toleration than inheritance; yet we are pleased to give our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative."

This pretension of the king's gave great alarm to the house of commons. They saw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet considered at least as precarious. It might be forfeited by abuse, and they had already abused it. They thought proper, therefore, on the 16th of December, to oppose pretension to pretension. They framed a protestation, in which they repeated all their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel. And they asserted, "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England\*." On account of these encreasing heats the king hurried to town. He sent immediately for the journals of the commons; and, with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation; and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council-book. He was doubly displeased, he said, with the protestation of the lower house, on account of the manner of framing it, as well as of the matter which it contained. It was tumultuously voted at a late hour, and in a thin house; and it was expressed in such general and ambiguous terms, as might serve for a foundation to the most enormous claims, and to the most unwarrantable usurpations upon his prerogative. The king, dreading the meeting of the house, prorogued the parliament, and soon after dissolved it by proclamation; in which he also made an apology to the public for his conduct†.

On

\* This protestation is so remarkable, that it may not be improper to give it in its own words. "The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this protestation following: That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and

bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself) for, or concerning any speaker, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament-business. And that if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewn in to the king by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information." Franklin, p. 65. Rushworth, vol. 1. p. 53. Kennes p. 747. Coke, p. 77.

† The leading members of the house, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips, were committed to the Tower; Sir John Pym,



On account of this dissolution of parliament every man began to indulge himself in political reasonings and inquiries; and the same factions which commenced in parliament were propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid them discoursing of state affairs. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, served rather to inflame the curiosity of the public: and, in every company or society, the late transactions became the subject of argument and debate. Amidst the disputes occasioned by the king's arbitrary method of proceeding, the wise and moderate in the nation endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, an equitable neutrality between the opposite parties; and the more they reflected on the course of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found in fixing just sentiments with regard to them.

In 1622 James entertained the idea of wresting the Palatinate from the hands of the emperor and the duke of Bavaria; but while any difference between him and the commons subsisted it was impossible for him to go to war. The king's negotiations had they been managed with ever so great dexterity, must now carry less weight with them; and it was easy to elude all his applications. When lord Digby, his ambassador to the emperor, had desired a cessation of hostilities, he was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies. The duke of Bavaria told him, that it was entirely superfluous to form any treaty for that purpose. "Hostilities are already ceased, said he; and I doubt not but I shall be able to prevent their revival by keeping firm possession of the Palatinate, till a final agreement shall be concluded between the contending parties." Notwithstanding this insult, James endeavoured to resume with the emperor a treaty of accommodation; and he opened the negotiation at Brussels, under the mediation of archduke Albert; and after his death, which happened about this time, under that of the infanta: When the conferences were entered upon, it was found that the powers of these princes to determine in the controversy were not sufficient or satisfactory. Schwartzembourg, the Imperial minister, was expected at London; and it was hoped that he would bring more ample authority: his commission referred entirely to the negotiation at Brussels. It was not difficult for the king to perceive, that his applications were neglected by the emperor; but as he had no choice of any other expedient, and it seemed the interest of his son-in-law to keep alive his pretensions, he was still content to follow Ferdinand through all his shifts and evasions. Nor was he entirely discouraged, even when the Imperial diet at Ratibon, by the influence or rather authority of the emperor; though contrary to the protestation of Saxony, and of all the protestant princes and cities, had transferred the electoral dignity from the palatine to the duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile the efforts made by Frederic, for the recovery of his dominions, were vigorous. Three armies were levied in Germany by his authority, under three commanders, duke Christian of Brunswick, the prince of Baden-Dorulach, and count Mansfeldt. The two former generals were defeated by count Tilly and the Imperialists: the third, though much inferior in force than his enemies, still maintained the war; but with no equal supply of money either from the palatine or the king of England. It was chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the Palatinate, that he subsisted his army. As the Austrians were regularly paid, they were kept in most exact discipline; and James justly became apprehensive, lest so unequal a contest, besides ravaging the palatine's hereditary dominions, would end in the total alienation of the people's affections from their ancient sovereign, by whom they were plundered, and in an attachment to their new masters, by whom they were protected. He persuaded therefore his son-in-law to disarm, under colour of duty and submission to the emperor: and accordingly, Mansfeldt was dismissed from the palatine's service, and that famous general withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there received a commission from the states of the United Provinces.

It was not from his negotiations with the emperor or the duke of Bavaria, that James expected any success in his project of restoring the palatine: his eyes were entirely turned towards Spain; and if he could effect his son's marriage with the Infanta, he doubted not but that, after so intimate a conjunction, this other point could easily be obtained. After five years negotiation James found that he had advanced no farther than at the beginning. A dispensation from Rome was requisite for the marriage of the Infanta with a protestant prince; and the king of Spain, having undertaken to procure that dispensation, had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleasure, or of forwarding the marriage. In order to remove all obstacles, James dispatched Digby, soon after created earl of Bristol, as his ambassador to Philip IV. who had lately succeeded his father in the crown of Spain. He secretly employed Gage as his agent at Rome; and finding that the difference of religion was the principal, if not the sole difficulty, which retarded the marriage, he resolved to soften that objection as much as possible. He issued public orders for discharging all popish recusants who were imprisoned. For this step, so opposite to the rigid spirit of his subjects, he took care to apologize; and he even endeavoured to ascribe it to his great zeal for the reformed religion. He had been making applications, he said, to all foreign princes for some indulgence to the distressed protestants; and he was still answered by objections derived from the severity of the English laws against catholics. Not only the religious puritans murmured at this tolerating measure of the king; but the lovers of civil liberty were alarmed at so important an exertion of prerogative. By James's concession in favour of the catholics, he attained his end. The same religious motives which had hitherto rendered the court of Madrid insincere in all the steps taken with regard to the marriage, were now the chief cause of promoting it. By its means, it was there hoped the English catholics would for the future enjoy ease and indulgence; and the Infanta would be the happy instrument of procuring to the church some tranquillity, after the many severe persecutions which it had hitherto undergone. All measures being agreed on between the parties, nought was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, which might be considered as a mere formality. The king, justified by success, now exulted in his pacific counsels, and boasted of his superior sagacity and penetration; when all these flattering prospects were blatted by the temerity of a man, whom he had fondly exalted from a private condition, to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people.

The duke of Buckingham, since the fall of Somerset had governed with an uncontrolled sway, both his court and his nation. Among those who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite, the prince of Wales himself had not been entirely spared; and a great coldness, if not an enmity, had, for that reason, taken place between them. Buckingham, desirous of an opportunity, which might connect him with the prince, and overcome his aversion, and at the same time envi-

is memorable; as being the first instance, perhaps, in the whole history of England, of any king's advancing a man on account of parliamentary interest, and of opposition to his measures. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political reasoners, as one of the most early and infallible symptoms of a regular established liberty.

Pym, and Mallory, to other prisons. As a lighter punishment, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot, joined in commission with others, were sent to Ireland, in order to execute some business. Sir John Savill, a powerful man in the house of commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and soon after a baron. This event



ous of the great credit acquired by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation, bethought himself of an expedient, by which he might at once gratify both these inclinations. He represented to Charles in 1623, that persons of his exalted station were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, and to whom they were unknown; not endeared by sympathy, not obliged by service; wooed by treaties alone, by negotiations, by political interest: that however accomplished the Infanta, she must still consider herself as a melancholy victim of state, and could not but think with aversion of that day, when she was to enter the bed of a stranger; and, passing into a foreign country and a new family, bid adieu for ever to her father's house and to her native land: that it was in the prince's power to soften all these rigours, and lay such an obligation on her, as would attach the most indifferent temper, as would warm the coldest affection: that his journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fictions of the Spanish romance, and suiting the amorous and enterprising character of that nation, must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer: that the negotiations with regard to the palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be terminated by so illustrious an agent, seconded by the mediation and entreaties of the grateful Infanta: that Spanish generosity, moved by that unexampled trust and confidence, would make concessions beyond what could be expected from political views and considerations: and that he would quickly return to the king with the glory of having re-established the unhappy palatinate, by the same enterprize which procured him the affections and the person of the Spanish princess. The mind of the young prince, replete with candour, was inflamed by these generous and romantic ideas, suggested by Buckingham. He agreed to make application to the king for his approbation. They chose the moment of his kindest and most jovial humour; and more by the earnestness which they expressed, than by the force of their reasons, they obtained a hasty and unguarded consent to their undertaking. And having engaged his promise to keep their purpose secret, they left him, in order to make preparations for the journey. No sooner was the king alone, than his temper suggested very different views of the matter, and represented every difficulty and danger which could occur. He reflected, that, however the world might pardon this folly of youth in the prince, they would never forgive himself, who, at his years, and after his experience, could entrust his only son, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to the discretion of foreigners, without so much as providing the frail security of a safe conduct in his favour: that if the Spanish monarch were sincere in his professions, a few months must finish the treaty of marriage, and bring the Infanta into England; if he were not sincere, the folly was still more egregious of committing the prince into his hands: that Philip when possessed of so invaluable a pledge, might well rise in his demands, and impose harder conditions of treaty: and that the temerity of the enterprize was so apparent, that the event, how prosperous soever, could not justify it; and if disastrous, it would render himself infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all posterity. Tormented with these reflections, as soon as the prince and Buckingham returned for all their dispatches, he informed them of all the reasons which had determined him to change his resolution; and he begged them to desist from so foolish an adventure. The prince received the disappointment with sorrowful submission and silent tears: Buckingham presumed to speak in an imperious tone, which he had ever experienced to be prevalent over his too easy master. He told the king, that nobody for the future would believe any thing he said, when he retracted so soon the promise so solemnly given; that he plainly discerned this change of resolution to proceed

from another breach of his word, in communicating the matter to some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons which he had alledged, and he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his counsellor had been; and that if he receded from what he promised, it would be such a disobligation to the prince, who had now set his heart upon the journey, after his majesty's approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cause of it. The king with great earnestness made his apology, by denying that he had communicated the matter to any; and finding himself assailed, as well by the boisterous importunities of Buckingham, as by the warm entreaties of his son, whose applications had hitherto, on other occasions, been always dutiful, never earnest; he had again the weakness to assent to their proposed journey. It was agreed that Sir Francis Cottington alone, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, should accompany them; and the former being at that time in the ante-chamber, he was immediately called in by the king's orders. James told Cottington, that he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was now to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. "Cottington," added he, "here is baby Charles and Stenny," (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham,) "who have a great mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the Infanta: they will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the king's agent, was struck with all the obvious objections to such an enterprize, and scrupled not to declare them. The king threw himself upon his bed, and cried, "I told you this before;" and fell into a new passion and new lamentations, complaining that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles. The prince shewed by his countenance, that he was extremely dissatisfied with Cottington's discourse; but Buckingham broke into an open passion against him. The king, he told him, asked him only of the journey, and of the manner of travelling; particulars of which he might be a competent judge, having gone the road so often by post; but that he, without being called to it, had the presumption to give his advice upon matters of state and against his master, which he would repent as long as he lived. A thousand other reproaches he added, which put the poor king into a new agony in behalf of a servant, who, he foresaw, would suffer for answering him honestly. Upon which he said, with some emotion, "Nay, by God, Stenny, you are much to blame for using him so: he answered me directly to the question which I asked him, and very honestly and wily; and yet, you know, he said, no more than I told you before he was called in. However, after all this passion on both sides, James renewed his consent; and proper directions were given for the journey. Nor was he now at any loss to discover, that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as pursued violently by his spirit and impetuosity\*.

Prince Charles and Buckingham, with their two attendants, and Sir Richard Graham, master of horse to Buckingham, passed disguised and undiscovered through France; and ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterward espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. On the 7th of March, eleven days after they left London, they arrived at Madrid; and surprized every body by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch immediately paid Charles a visit, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made warm protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. By the most studious civilities he shewed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He gave him a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without



without any introduction, have access to him at all hours: he took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; for there, he said, the prince was at home: Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attends the kings of Spain on their coronation: the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself: Olivarez too, though a grandee of Spain, who had the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence: all the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the event, the most honourable and most fortunate, had happened to the monarchy: and every sumptuary law with regard to apparel was suspended during Charles's residence in Spain. The Infanta, however, was only shewn to her lover in public; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict, as not to allow of any farther intercourse, till the arrival of the dispensation. The point of honour was carried so far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage which they had acquired, of imposing any harder conditions of treaty: their pious zeal only prompted them, on one occasion, to desire more concessions in the religious articles; but, upon the opposition of Bristol, accompanied with some reproaches, they immediately desisted. The pope, however, hearing of the prince's arrival in Madrid, tacked some new clauses to the dispensation; and it became necessary to transmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. This treaty, which was made public, consisted of several articles, chiefly regarding the exercise of the catholic religion by the Infanta and her household. Nothing could reasonably be found fault with except one article, in which the king promised, that the children should be educated by the princess, till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasoning their minds with catholic principles. Besides the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the king, in which he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the catholic religion in private houses. Meanwhile Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation died, and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. Upon this event, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, till it should be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed sending a new dispensation, in hopes that, during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to effect his conversion. The king of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the first hint, Charles obtained permission to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of civility and respect, which had attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendship; and the prince, having sworn to the observance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero\*.

Buckingham, sensible how odious he was become to the Spaniards by his temerity and haughty behaviour, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the Infanta, resolved

to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage; and, when the prince left Madrid, he was firmly determined, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain. It is not likely that Buckingham prevailed so easy with James to abandon a project, which, during so many years, had been the object of all his wishes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to a happy period. A rupture with Spain; the loss of two millions, were prospects little agreeable to this pacific and indigent monarch: but finding his only son bent against a match, which had always been opposed by his people and his parliament, he yielded to the difficulties which he had not courage or strength of mind sufficient to overcome. The prince, therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, assumed entirely the direction of the negotiation; and it was their business to seek for pretences by which they could give a colour to their intended breach of treaty. Though the restitution of the Palatinate had ever been considered by James as a natural or necessary consequence of the Spanish alliance, he had always forbidden his ministers to insist on it as a preliminary article to the conclusion of the marriage treaty. He considered that this principality was now in the hands of the emperor and the duke of Bavaria; and that it was no longer in the king of Spain's power, by a single stroke of his pen, to restore it to its ancient master. The strict alliance of Spain with these princes would engage Philip, he thought, to soften so disagreeable a demand by every art of negotiation; and many articles must of necessity be adjusted, before such an important point could be effected. It was sufficient, in James's opinion, if the sincerity of the Spanish court could, for the present, be ascertained; and, dreading farther delays of the marriage, so long wished for, he was resolved to trust the Palatinate's full restoration to the event of future counsels and deliberations. This whole system of negotiation Buckingham now reversed; and he overturned every supposition upon which the treaty had hitherto been conducted. After many fruitless artifices were employed to delay or prevent the espousals, Bristol received positive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finish the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the Palatinate; having been made acquainted with the disgust received by Buckingham. Determined, however, to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the English, Philip delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the Palatinate, either by persuasion, or by every possible means; and when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the Infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language. And thinking that such rash counsels, as now governed the court of England, would not stop at the breach of the marriage treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions. Thus James, having, by means inexplicable from the ordinary rules of politics, conducted so near an honourable period, the marriage of his son, and the restoration of his son-in-law, failed at last of his purpose, by means equally unaccountable. But, though

\* In the same proportion that the prince was beloved and esteemed, was Buckingham despised and hated. His behaviour, composed of English familiarity, and French vivacity; his follies of passion, his indecent freedoms with the prince, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could nor cared to disguise: qualities like these, could, most of them, be esteemed no-where, but to the Spaniards were the objects of peculiar aversion. They could not conceal their surprise, that such a youth could intrude into a negotiation now conducted to a period by so accomplished a minister as Bristol, and could assume to himself all the merit of it. They lamented the Infanta's fate, who must be approached by a man, whose temerity seemed to respect no laws, divine or human. And when they observed, that he had the imprudence to insult the Conde, duke of Olivarez, their prime minister,

every one, who was ambitious of paying court to the Spanish, became desirous of shewing a contempt for the English favourite. The duke of Buckingham told Olivarez, that his own attachment to the Spanish nation and to the king of Spain was extreme; that he would contribute to every measure which could cement the friendship between England and them; and that his peculiar ambition would be to facilitate the prince's marriage with the Infanta. But, he added, with a sincerity equally insolent and indiscreet, "With regard to you, Sir, in particular, you must not consider me as your friend, but must ever expect from me all possible enmity and opposition." The Conde duke replied, with a becoming dignity, that he very willingly accepted of what was proffered him: and on these terms the favourites parted.



the expedients already used by Buckingham were sufficiently inglorious both for himself and for the nation; it was necessary for him ere he could fully effect his purpose, to employ artifices still more dishonourable.

The king was obliged to concert new measures; and, without the assistance of parliament, no effectual step could be taken. The benevolence, which had been rigorously exacted for recovering the Palatinate, had procured to the king less money than ill-will from his subjects. Whatever discouragements, therefore, he might receive from his ill agreement with former parliaments, he summoned another on the 24th of February, 1624: and it might be hoped, that the Spanish alliance being abandoned, the commons would be better satisfied with the king's administration. In his speech to the houses, James dropped some hints of his causes of complaint against Spain; and he condescended to ask advice of parliament, which he had never before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair as his son's marriage. Buckingham delivered to a committee of lords and commons, a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip: but partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity.

Buckingham's narrative, however artfully disguised, contained so many contradictory circumstances, as were sufficient to open the eyes of all reasonable men; but it concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the parliament, that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it. Charmed with having at length obtained the opportunity of going to war with papists, they little thought of future consequences; but immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the restitution of the palatinate\*.

The parliament, taking advantage of the good understanding between the kingdom and themselves, passed a bill against monopolies. The house of commons also corroborated, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which, two years before, they had exercised in the case of chancellor Bacon, and which had lain dormant for near two centuries, except where they served as instruments for royal vengeance. The earl of Middlesex had been raised, by Buckingham's interest, from the rank of a London merchant, to be treasurer of England; and, by his activity and address, seemed not unworthy of that preferment. But, as he incurred the displeasure of his patron, by scrupling or refusing some demands of money, during the prince's residence in Spain, that favourite vowed revenge, and employed all his credit among the commons to procure an impeachment of the treasurer. The king was extremely dissatisfied with this measure, and prophesied to the prince and duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary prosecutions. In a speech to the parliament, he endeavoured to apologize for Middlesex, and to soften the accusation against him. The charge, however, was still maintained by the commons; and the treasurer was found guilty by the peers, though the misdemeanors proved against him were neither numerous nor important. The accepting of two presents of five hundred pounds a-piece, for passing two patents, was the article of greatest weight. His sentence was, to be fined fifty thousand pounds for the king's use, and to suffer all the other penalties formerly inflicted upon Bacon.

\* Buckingham was now the favourite of the public, and of the parliament. Sir Edward Coke, in the house of commons, called him the saviour of the nation. Every place resounded with his praises. And he himself, intoxicated with a popularity which he enjoyed so little time, and which he so ill deserved, violated all duty to his indulgent master, and entered into cabals with the puritanical members, who had ever opposed the royal authority. He even encouraged schemes for

The fine was afterwards remitted by the prince when he ascended the throne. This session an address was also made very disagreeable to the king, craving the severe execution of the laws against catholics. His answer was gracious and condescending; though he declared against persecution, as being an improper measure for the suppression of any religion, according to the received maxim, "That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." He also condemned an entire indulgence of the catholics; and seemed to represent a middle course as the most humane and most politic. After all these transactions, the parliament was prorogued on the 29th of May, by the king, who let fall some hints, though in gentle terms, of the sense which he entertained of their unkindness, in not supplying his necessities.

The king now began to estrange himself from Buckingham, to whom he ascribed all those violent counsels, and whom he considered as the author, both of the prince's journey to Spain, and of the breach of the marriage treaty. The arrival of Bristol he impatiently longed for; and it was by the assistance of that minister, whose wisdom he respected, and whose views he approved, that he hoped in time to extricate himself from his present difficulties. During the prince's abode in Spain, that able negociator had ever opposed to the impetuous measures suggested by Buckingham, his own wise and well-tempered counsels. After Charles's departure, he still, upon the first appearance of a change of resolution, interposed his advice, and strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniard, in the conduct of the treaty, as well as the advantages which England must reap from the complexion of it. Enraged to find that his successful labours should be rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion, he would understand no hints; and nothing but express orders from his master could engage him to make that demand which he was sensible must put a final period to the treaty. He was not therefore surprised to hear that Buckingham had declared himself his chief enemy, and on all occasions, had thrown out many violent reflections against him.

Nothing could be of greater consequence to Buckingham, than to keep Bristol at a distance both from the king and the parliament; lest the power of treating in open scenes, which were but suggested by the flames, and of which the latter had as yet entertained no manner of jealousy. He applied therefore to James, whose weakness was now become absolutely incredible. A warrant for sending Bristol to the Tower was issued immediately upon his arrival in England; and though he was soon released from confinement, yet orders were carried him from the king, to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in parliament. He obeyed, but loudly demanded an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master. On all occasions he protested his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miscarriage. Buckingham, and at his instigation, the prince, declared, that they would be reconciled to Bristol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct: but the spirited nobleman, jealous of his honour, refused to buy favour at so high a price. James had the equity to say, that the insisting on that condition was a strain of unexampled tyranny; but Buckingham scrupled not to assert, that neither the king, the prince, nor himself, were as yet satisfied of Bristol's innocence.

During these transactions the Spanish ambassador,

abolishing the order of bishops, and selling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expences of a Spanish war. And the king, though he still entertained projects for forming an accommodation with Spain, was to be borne down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and incited by Buckingham, that he was at last obliged, in a speech to parliament, to declare in favour of hostile measures, if they would engage to support him.



Iniofa, endeavoured to open the king's eyes by instilling greater fears into him. He privately slipped into his hand a paper, and gave him a signal to read it alone. He there told him, that he was as much a prisoner at London as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; that the prince and Buckingham had conspired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals among the popular leaders in parliament were carrying on to the extreme prejudice of his authority; that the project was to confine him to some of his hunting seats; and to commit the whole of his administration to Charles; and that it was necessary for him, by one vigorous effort, to vindicate his authority, and to punish those who had so long and so much abused his friendship and beneficence. What credit James gave to this representation does not appear. He only discovered some faint symptoms, which he instantly retracted, of dissatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public measures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the palatinate.

The United Provinces were, at this time, governed by Maurice; and that aspiring prince, sensible that his credit would languish during peace, had, on the expiration of the twelve years truce, renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. The Spanish armies being commanded by Spinola, a general equally renowned for conduct, and more celebrated for enterprize and activity. In such a situation, nothing could be more welcome to the republic than the prospect of a rupture between James and the catholic king; and they flattered themselves, as well from the natural union of interests between them and England, as from the influence of the present conjuncture, that powerful succours would soon march to their relief. Accordingly an army of six thousand men was levied in England, and sent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, Essex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice. About the same time a treaty was entered into between France and England, and all imaginable encouragement was given to every proposal for conciliating a marriage between Charles and the princess Henrietta\*. As much as the conclusion of the treaty was acceptable to the king, as much were all the military enterprises disagreeable, both from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking in which he was engaged, and from his own incapacity for such a scene of action.

During the Spanish negotiation, Frankendale, though the garrison was entirely English, was closely besieged by the Imperial forces. After reiterated remonstrances from James, Spain interposed, and procured a suspension of arms during eighteen months. But as Frankendale was the only place of Frederic's ancient dominions which was still in his hands, Ferdinand, desirous of withdrawing his forces from the palatinate, and of leaving that state in security, was unwilling that so important a fortress should remain in possession of the enemy. To compromise all differences, it was agreed to sequester it into the hands of the infanta as a neutral person;

upon condition, that, after the expiration of the truce, it should be delivered to Frederic; though peace should not, at that time, be concluded between him and Ferdinand. After the unexpected rupture with Spain, the Infanta, when James demanded the execution of the treaty, offered him peaceable possession of Frankendale, and even promised a safe-conduct for the garrison through the Spanish Netherlands: but there was some territory of the empire which interposed between her state and the palatinate: and for passage over that territory, no terms were stipulated. By this chicane, which certainly had not been employed if amity with Spain had been preserved, the Palatine was totally dispossessed of his patrimonial dominions. The English nation, however, and James's warlike council, were not discouraged. It was still determined to conquer the palatinate; a state lying in the midst of Germany, possessed entirely by the emperor and duke of Bavaria, surrounded by potent enemies, and cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeldt was taken into pay; and an English army of twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse was levied by a general press throughout the kingdom. During the negotiation with France, vast promises had been made, though in general terms, by the French ministry; not only that a free passage should be granted to the English troops, but that powerful succours should also join them in their march towards the palatinate. In England, all these professions were hastily interpreted to be positive engagements. The troops under Mansfeldt's command were embarked at Dover; but, upon sailing over to Calais, found no orders yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand: where it had also been neglected to concert proper measures for their disembarkation; and some scruples arose among the States on account of the scarcity of provisions. Meanwhile, a pestilential distemper crept in among the English forces, so long cooped up in narrow vessels. Half the army died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate. And thus, in the year 1625, ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition.

In the spring of this year James was seized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that such a distemper at that season, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was made for a young king. After some fits he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preserve a constancy in religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the palatine. With decency and courage he prepared himself for his end; and he expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and some days; and in the fifty-ninth year of his age†. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life.

In all history it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious, yet more unspotted and unblemished, than that of James in both kingdoms. No prince, says Hume, so little enterprising and so inoffensive, was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of ca-

\* The same allurements had not place here, which had so long entangled him in the Spanish negotiation: the portion promised was much inferior; and the peaceable restoration of the palatinate could not thence be expected. But James was afraid lest his son should be altogether disappointed of a bride; and, therefore, as soon as the French king demanded, for the honour of his crown, the same terms which had been granted the Spanish, he was prevailed with to comply. And as the prince, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the subsequent distressed condition of his posterity. The court of England, however, it must be confessed, always pretended, even in their

memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions granted to the catholics, were inserted in the marriage treaty merely to please the pope, and that their strict execution was, by an agreement with France, secretly dispensed with.

† King James was buried in Henry VIIIth's chapel at Westminster, where the following inscription was placed upon his coffin:

"*Depositum Illustrissimi Principis Jacobi primi, Magnæ Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regis, qui natus apud Scotos, annos 59. menses 3. dies 12. Et apud Anglos, annos 22. & dies 3. pacifice, ac salubriter potitus, tandem in Domino obdormivit, 27 die Martii, anno a Christo nato, 1625, ætas vero sua, 60.*"



lunny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. And the factions, which began in his time, being still continued, have made his character, be as much disputed to this day, as is commonly that of princes who are our contemporaries. Many virtues, however, it must be owned, he was possessed of; but scarce any of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness. He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March, 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues. He left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector palatine. She was aged twenty-nine years. Those alone remained of six legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never discovered any tendency, even the smallest, towards a passion for any mistress.

## CHAP. II.

### CHARLES I.

SOON after Charles had taken the reins of government into his hands, he issued writs for summoning a new parliament, on the 7th of May; and it was not without regret that the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the 18th of June, 1625, when they assembled at Westminster for the dispatch of business. The house of commons accordingly took into consideration the business of supply; and thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to one hundred and twelve thousand pounds\*. By this small supply Charles found himself unable to prosecute the war for the recovery of the palatinate; and therefore became somewhat dissatisfied with the house, though he cared not to shew it. And though he was constrained to adjourn the parliament on the 11th of July, by reason of the plague, which at that time raged in London; he immediately re-assembled them at Oxford, and made a new attempt, on August 1, to gain from them some supplies in such an urgent necessity. Charles now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy which he had formerly maintained. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particular detail both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the military operations which he projected†. But the commons remained inexorable to all his entreaties. Notwithstanding that the king's measures, on the supposition of a foreign war, which they had constantly demanded, were altogether unexceptionable, they obstinately refused any farther aid; though it was known that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in great want of pay and provisions; and that Buckingham, the admiral, and the treasurer of the navy had advanced on their own credit near a hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service. Besides all their other motives, the house of commons had made a discovery

which, as they wanted but a pretence for their refusal, inflamed them against the court and against the duke of Buckingham.

When James deserted the Spanish alliance, and courted that of France, he had promised to furnish Lewis, who was entirely destitute of naval force, with one ship of war, together with seven armed vessels hired from the merchants. These the French court had pretended they would employ against the Genoese, who being firm and useful allies to the Spanish monarchy, were naturally regarded with an evil eye both by the king of France and of England. When these vessels by Charles's orders arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspicion that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed. That race of men, who are at present both careless and ignorant in all matters of religion, were at that time only ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington their commander; and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ringleader, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother protestants in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Dieppe. As the duke knew that authority alone would not suffice, he employed much art and many subtleties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour which was spread that peace had been concluded between the French king and the Hugonots, assisted him in his purpose. When they arrived at Dieppe they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle. The house of commons, when informed of these transactions, shewed the same attachment with the sailors for the protestant religion; and great murmurs and discontents prevailed in parliament. The Hugonots, though they had no ground of complaint against the French court, were thought to be as much entitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken arms in defence of their liberties and religion against the persecuting rage of the catholics.

The commons on this occasion, renewed their complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and remonstrated against some late pardons granted to priests. They attacked Montague, one of the king's chaplains, on account of a moderate book which he had lately published, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other Christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and compliant answer to all their remonstrances. An abatement of the more rigorous laws was all he intended; and his engagements with France, notwithstanding that their regular execution had never been promised or expected, required of him some indulgence. But so unfortunate was this prince, that no measure em-

\* A subsidy was now fallen to about fifty-six thousand pounds. Cabbala, p. 224, first edit.

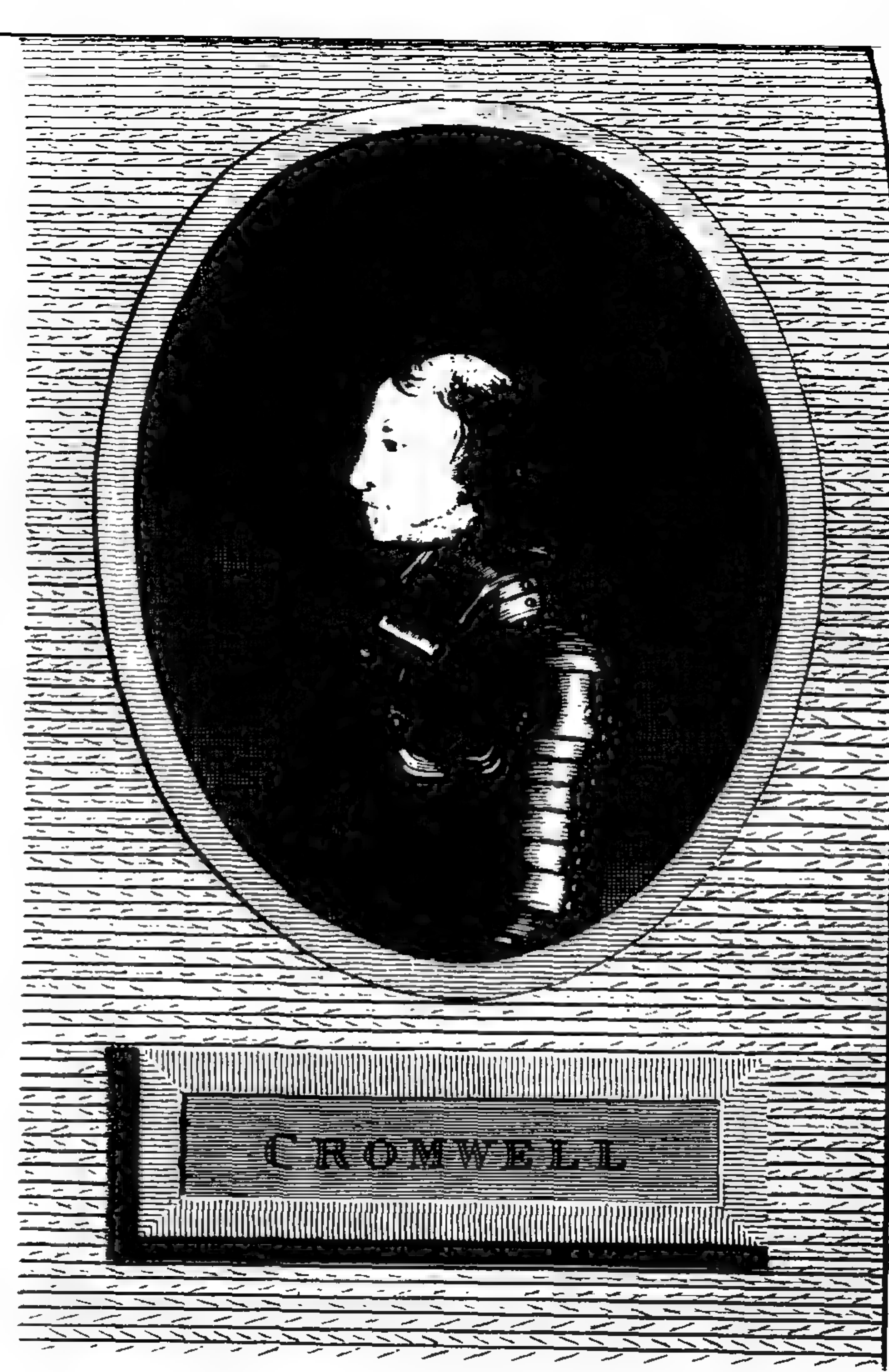
† He told the parliament, that by a promise of subsidies, he had engaged the king of Denmark to take part in the war; that this monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to rouse to arms those princes who impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the evangelical union; that the states must be supported in the unequal warfare which they maintained with Spain; that no less a sum than seven hundred thousand pounds a-year had been found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that the maintenance of the fleet, and the defence of Ireland, demanded an annual expence of four hundred thousand pounds;

that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated in the public service his whole revenue; and had scarcely left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and his family; that on his accession to the crown, he found a debt of above three hundred thousand pounds, contracted by his father in support of the palatine; and that while prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts, the king even condescended to use entreaties. He said that his request was the first that he had ever made them; that he was young, and in the commencement of his reign; and if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear to him the use of parliaments, and would for ever preserve an entire harmony between him and the people.





CHARLES I



CROMWELL



braced during his whole reign was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal consequences. The house of commons petitioned the king for replacing such able clergy as had been silenced for want of conformity to the ceremonies. They also enacted laws for the strict observance of Sunday. The king finding that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and would furnish him with nothing but empty protestations of duty, or disagreeable complaints of grievances; took advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, and on that pretence immediately dissolved them. By finishing the session with a dissolution, instead of a prorogation, he sufficiently expressed his displeasure at their conduct.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy-seals, on the 12th of August, for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedition was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned. By means, however, of that supply, and by other expeditions, he was enabled to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty vessels great and small; and carried on board an army of ten thousand men\*.

Charles, having failed of so rich a prize, was obliged again to have recourse to the parliament, which he summoned in the beginning of 1626: being resolved to try once more that regular and constitutional expedient for supply. The views of the last parliament were immediately adopted; as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened since their meeting. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths; and though they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was little proportioned to the greatness of the occasion. But this circumstance was not the most disagreeable one. The supply was only voted by the commons. The passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session. A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under colour of redressing grievances, they were to proceed in regulating and controlling every part of government which displeased them: and if the king either cut them short in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the commons. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles at this treatment; but his necessities obliged him to submit.

The duke of Buckingham, formerly noxious to the public, became every day more unpopular, by the uncontrolled ascendant which he had acquired over his master. Two violent attacks he was obliged this session to sustain; one from the earl of Bristol, another from the house of commons. When the parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had given orders that no writ, as is customary, should be sent to Bristol. That nobleman applied to the house of lords by petition; and craved their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him, but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper, Coventry, commanding him in the king's name to absent himself from parliament.

This letter Bristol conveyed to the lords, and asked advice how to proceed in so delicate a situation. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Bristol took his seat. Provoked at these repeated instances of vigour, which the court denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against him. By way of recrimination, Bristol accused Buckingham of high treason. Both the earl's defence of himself and accusation of the duke remain; and, together with some original letters still extant, contain the fullest and most authentic account of all the negotiations with the house of Austria. From the whole, the great imprudence of the duke evidently appears, and the sway of his ungovernable passions; but it would be difficult to collect thence any action which in the eye of the law could be deemed a crime; much less could subject him to the penalty of treason. The impeachment of the commons was still less dangerous to the duke, were it estimated by the standard of law and equity. The house, after having voted upon some queries of Dr. Turner's, "That common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the commons," proceeded to frame regular articles against Buckingham†. While the commons were warmly engaged against Buckingham, the king seemed desirous of embracing every opportunity by which he could express a contempt and disregard for them. About this time died the earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and Buckingham, though lying under impeachment, was by means of court-interest, chosen in his place. The commons resented and loudly complained of this affront; and the more to enrage them, the king himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election. The lord-keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the house not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer. And though these harsh commands were endeavoured to be explained and mollified, a few days after, by a speech of Buckingham's, they failed not to leave a disagreeable impression behind them.

Two members of the house, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke, were thrown into prison. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon business, till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alledged, as the reason of this measure, certain seditious expressions which, he said, had, in their accusation to the duke, dropped from these members. Upon enquiry it appeared that no such expressions had been used. The members were released, and the king reaped no other benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the house still farther, and to shew some degree of precipitancy and indiscretion. Moved by this example, the house of peers were roused from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower. After many fruitless invasions, the

\* Sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbledon, was entrusted with the command. He sailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value. He either neglected to attack these ships, or attempted it precipitantly. The army was landed and a fort taken: but the undisciplined soldiers, finding store of wine, could not be restrained from the utmost excesses. Farther stay appearing fruitless, they were reembarked; and the fleet put to sea with an intention of intercepting the Spanish galleons. But the plague having seized the seamen and soldiers in November, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and return to England.

† They accused him of having united many offices in his person; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the coast in such a manner that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king in order to serve against the Hugonots; of being employed in the

sale of honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. All these articles appear, from comparing the accusation and reply, to be either frivolous or false, or both. The only charge which could be regarded as important was, that he had extorted a sum of ten thousand pounds from the East-India company, and that he had confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spanish. The impeachment never came to a full determination; so that it is difficult for us to give a decisive opinion with regard to these articles: but it must be confessed, that the duke's answer in these particulars, as in all the rest, is so clear and satisfactory, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to it. His faults and blemishes were in many respects very great; but rapacity and avarice were vices with which he was entirely unacquainted. Hume.



king was at last obliged to comply. And in this incident it sufficiently appeared, that the lords, how little so ever inclined to popular courses, were not wanting in a just sense of their own dignity. The ill humour of the commons, thus wantonly irritated by the court, and finding no gratification in the legal impeachment of Buckingham, sought other objects on which it might exert itself. The never-failing cry of popery here served them instead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against catholics; and they presented to the king a list of persons entrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants. A new odium was likewise attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion: and the indulgence given to catholics was of course supposed to proceed entirely from his credit and authority.

This session the commons were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament\*. They well knew that while they retained such a pledge, they were sure that nothing could be refused them. Though after canvassing the matter near three months, they found themselves incapable of fixing any legal crime upon the duke, they regarded him as an unable and perhaps a dangerous minister; and they intended to present a petition, which would then have been equivalent to a command, for removing him from his majesty's person and councils. The king was alarmed at the yoke which he saw prepared for him. The commons now thought that they had gone too far to retreat; and therefore without waiting for new incidents, without covering themselves with new pretences, they immediately deserted him, and refused him all supply whatever. Charles now determined to dissolve the parliament. When this resolution was known, the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour entitled them to some authority with him, endeavoured to interpose; and they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to sit some time longer. "Not a moment longer," cried the king hastily; and he soon after ended the session by a dissolution†.

The new counsels, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. A commission was only granted, to compound with the catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them‡. From the nobility he desired assistance: from the city he required a loan of one hundred thousand pounds. The former contributed slowly; but the latter gave him a refusal. In order to equip a fleet, a distribution, by order of council, was made to all the maritime towns; and each of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent countries, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships\$. Of some loans were required: to others the way of benevolence was proposed: methods supported by prece-

\* This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandize by James, constituted near half of the crown revenues; and by depriving the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence.

† As this measure was foreseen, the commons took care to finish and disperse their remonstrance, which they intended as a justification of their conduct to the people. The king likewise, on his part, published a declaration, in which he gave the reasons of his disagreement with the parliament, and of their sudden dissolution, before they had time to conclude any one act.

‡ By this expedient, the king both filled his coffers, and gratified his inclination of giving indulgence to these religionists: but he could not have employed any branch of prerogative, which would have been more disagreeable, or would have appeared more exceptionable, to his protestant subjects.

\$ This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps farther by Charles, created such violent discontents.

|| That religious prejudices might support civil authority, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Manwaring, in favour

of the general loan; and the court industriously facilitated over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the crown was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a constitution were rejected as fictitious and absurd. So openly was this doctrine espoused by the court, that the bishop Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate, was, because he refused to licence Sibthorpe's sermon, suspended from the exercise of his office, banished from London, and confined to one of his country-seats. Abbot's principles of liberty, and his opposition to Buckingham, had always rendered him very ungracious at court, and had acquired him the character of a puritan. For it is remarkable, that this party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their religion, as the church party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people the whole system and the principles of the former sect.

While the king, instigated by anger and necessity, employed the whole extent of his prerogative, the spirit of the people was far from being subdued. Throughout England, many refused these loans; some were even active in encouraging their neighbours to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council these were thrown into prison: most of them with patience submitted to confinement, or replied by petition to the king, who commonly released them. Five gentlemen alone, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hamden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. No particular cause was assigned of their commitment. The special command alone of the king and council was pledged; and it was asserted, that, by law, there was no sufficient reason for refusing bail or releasement to the prisoners. This question was brought to a trial before the king's bench in November; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the issue of a case, which was of much greater consequence than the event of many battles\*\*.

Sir Randolf Crew, chief justice, had been displaced

of the general loan; and the court industriously facilitated over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the crown was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a constitution were rejected as fictitious and absurd. So openly was this doctrine espoused by the court, that the bishop Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate, was, because he refused to licence Sibthorpe's sermon, suspended from the exercise of his office, banished from London, and confined to one of his country-seats. Abbot's principles of liberty, and his opposition to Buckingham, had always rendered him very ungracious at court, and had acquired him the character of a puritan. For it is remarkable, that this party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their religion, as the church party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people the whole system and the principles of the former sect.

\*\* By the debates on this subject it appeared, beyond controversy, to the nation, that their ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against arbitrary power of the crown, by six several statutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws



as unfit for the purposes of the court: Sir Nicholas Hyde, esteemed more obsequious, had obtained that high office: yet the judges, by the king's direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to prison, and refuse the bail which was offered. Heath, the attorney-general, insisted, that the court, in imitation of the judges in the 34th of Elizabeth, should enter a general judgement, that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the king or council: but the judges wisely declined complying. But this was not the only hardship of which the nation then thought they had reason to complain. The army, which had made the fruitless expedition to Cadiz, was dispersed throughout the kingdom; and money was levied upon the counties for the payment of their quarters. The soldiers were billeted upon private houses, contrary to custom, which required that, in all ordinary cases, they should be quartered in inns and public houses. Those who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a great number of these dangerous and disorderly guests. Many too of low condition, who had shewn a refractory disposition, were pressed into the service, and enlisted in the fleet or army. Sir Peter Hayman, for the same reason, was dispatched on an errand to the Palatinate. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy. The soldiers, ill paid and undisciplined, committed many crimes and outrages, and much increased the public discontents. To prevent these disorders, martial law was exercised upon the soldiers. By a contradiction, which is natural when the people are exasperated, the outrages of the army were complained of; the remedy was thought still more intolerable. Though the expediency, if we are not rather to say the necessity, of martial law, had formerly been deemed, of itself, a sufficient ground for establishing it; men, now become more jealous of liberty, and more refined reasoners in questions of government, regarded as illegal and arbitrary, every exercise of authority which was not supported by express statute of uninterrupted precedent.

Great was the surprize to all men, when at this time Charles, baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, embroiled with his own subjects, unsupplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures; as if the half of Europe, now his enemy, were not sufficient for the exercise of military prowess; wantonly, in 1627, attacked France, the other great kingdom in his neighbourhood, and engaged at once in war against these two powers, whose interests were hitherto deemed so incompatible, that they could never, it was thought, agree either in the same friendships or enmities. All authentic memoirs, both foreign and domestic, ascribe to Buckingham's counsels this war with France, and represent him as actuated by motives, which would appear incredible, were we not acquainted with the violence and temerity of his character.

The three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Lewis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves and of their kingdoms to their creatures and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. Richelieu had no sooner got possession of the reins of government, than he formed at once three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirits of the great, to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of

Austria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, he braved all the opposition of the French princes and nobles in the prosecution of his vengeance; he discovered and dissipated all their secret cabals and conspiracies. His sovereign himself he held in subjection, while he exalted the throne. The people, while they lost their liberties, acquired, by means of his administration, learning, order, discipline, and renown. That confused and inaccurate genius of government, of which France partook in common with other European kingdoms, he changed into a simple monarchy, at the very time when the incapacity of Buckingham encouraged the free spirit of the commons to establish in England a regular system of liberty. However unequal the comparison between these ministers, Buckingham had entertained a mighty jealousy against Richelieu; a jealousy not founded on rivalry of power and politics, but of love and gallantry; where the duke was as much superior to the cardinal, as he was inferior in every other particular.

At the time when Charles married by proxy the princess Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen into England. The eyes of the French court were directed by curiosity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favour of two successive monarchs, and who, from a private station, had mounted in the earliest youth to the absolute government of three kingdoms. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, his fine taste in dress, festivals, and carousals, correspond to the prepossessions entertained in his favour: the affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expence, increased still farther the general admiration which was paid him. All business being already concerted, the time was entirely spent in mirth and entertainments; and, during those splendid scenes among that gay people, the duke found himself in a situation where he was perfectly qualified to excel. But his great success at Paris proved as fatal as his former failure at Madrid. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious addresses to the queen herself; and he failed not to make impression on a heart not undispensed to the tender passions. That attachment, at least of the mind, which appears so delicious, and is so dangerous, seems to have been encouraged by the princess; and the duke presumed so far on her good graces, that, after his departure, he secretly returned upon some pretence, and, paying a visit to the queen, was dismissed with a reproof which favoured more of kindness than of anger. Information of this correspondence was soon carried to Richelieu: the vigilance of that minister was here farther roused by jealousy; he too, either from vanity or politics, had ventured to pay his addresses to the queen. But a priest, past middle age, of a severe character, and occupied in the most extensive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match in that contest, for a young courtier, entirely disposed to gaiety and gallantry. The cardinal's disappointment strongly inclined him to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival. When the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion, he swore, "That he would see the queen, in spite of all the power of France;" and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

and constitution. But the kings of England, who had been able to prevent the enacting of these laws, had sufficient authority, when the tide of liberty was spent, to obstruct their regular execution; and they deemed it superfluous to attempt the repeal of statutes which they found so many expedients and pretences to elude. It was not till this age, when the spirit of liberty was universally diffused, when the principles of government were nearly reduced to a system, when the tempers of men, more civilized, seemed less to require these violent exertions of prerogative, that these five gentlemen above-men-

tioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cause, to bring the question to a final determination. And the king was astonished to observe, that a power, exercised by his predecessors, almost without interruption, was found, upon trial, to be directly opposite to the clearest laws, and supported by few undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. These had scarcely, in any instance, refused bail upon commitments by special command of the king; because the persons committed had seldom or never dared to demand it, at least to insist on their demands.



He first took advantage of some quarrels excited by the queen of England's attendants; and he persuaded Charles to dismiss at once all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants; and these he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a sentence of the court of admiralty. But finding that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to second the intrigues of the duke of Soubize, and to undertake at once a military expedition against that kingdom. Soubize, who, with his brother the duke of Rohan, was the leader of the Hugonot party, was at that time in London, and strongly solicited Charles to embrace the protection of these distressed religionists. He represented, that after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been repressed by the combined squadrons of England and Holland, after peace was concluded with the French king under Charles's mediation, the ambitious cardinal was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots; that preparations were silently making in every province of France for the suppression of their religion; that forts were erected in order to bridle Rochelle, the most considerable bulwark of the protestants; that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of his faith, and considered him as a prince engaged by interest, as well as inclination to support them.

Though Charles probably bore but small favour to the Hugonots, he yet allowed himself to be gained by these arguments, enforced by the solicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them entrusted to the command of the duke, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and sea-service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle; but so ill-concerted were Buckingham's measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. All his military operations shewed equal incapacity and inexperience. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified: having landed his men, on the 9th of July, though with some loss, he followed not the blow, but allowed Toiras, the French governor, five days respite; during which St. Martin was victualled and provided for a siege. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which could at first have made no manner of resistance; though resolved to starve St. Martin, he guarded the sea negligently, and allowed provisions and ammunition to be thrown into it: despairing to reduce it by famine, he attacked it without having made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers: having found that a French army had stolen over in small divisions, and had landed at Prie, the fort which he had at first overlooked, he began to think of a retreat; but made it (October 28) so unskillfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout\*. The duke of Rohan, who had taken arms as soon as Buckingham appeared upon the coast, discovered the dangerous spirit of the sect, without being able to do any mischief: the inhabitants of Rochelle, who

had at last been induced to join the English, hastened the vengeance of their master, exhausted their provisions in supplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate siege. Thus ended Buckingham's expedition against France.

In 1628 there was reason to apprehend some disorder from the discontents which prevailed among the people in England. Their liberties they believed were ravished from them; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had met with a severe check from the Spanish war, was totally annihilated by the French war; those military honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, had received a grievous stain, by two unsuccessful and ill-conducted expeditions; scarce an illustrious family but mourned, from the last of them, the loss of a son or a brother; greater calamities were dreaded from the war with these powerful monarchies, concurring with the internal disorders under which the nation laboured. And these ills were ascribed, not to the refractory disposition of the two former parliaments, to which they were partly owing; but solely to Charles's obstinacy, in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham. A parliament was now called, and the commons were assembled on the 17th of March. The members appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers; they were deputed by boroughs and counties, enflamed all of them by the late violations of liberty. They considered, that the king, disgusted at these popular assemblies, and little prepossessed in favour of their privileges, wanted but a fair pretence for breaking with them, and would seize the first opportunity offered by any incident, or any undutiful behaviour of the members. And indeed by his speeches it appeared that he wished for an opportunity. The decency, however, which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, and recommended to others, hindered them not from making the loudest and most vigorous complaints against the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured†.

The whole house seemed now determined to make an effort to obtain their liberty. Even the court party pretended not to plead, in defence of the late measures, any thing but the necessity to which the king had been reduced, by the obstinacy of the two former parliaments. A vote, therefore, was passed without opposition against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans. And the spirit of liberty having obtained some contentment by this exertion, the reiterated messages of the king, who pressed for supply, were attended to with more temper. Five subsidies were voted him; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he declared himself well satisfied; and even tears of affection started in his eye, when he was informed of this concession. The duke's approbation too was mentioned by secretary Coke; but the conjunction of a subject with the sovereign was ill received by the house. Though disgusted with the king, the jealousy which they felt for his honour was more sensible than that which his unbounded confidence in the duke would allow even himself to entertain. The supply, though voted, was not, as yet, passed into a law; and the commons resolved to em-

\* He was the last of the army, that embarked; and he returned to England, having lost two thirds of his land forces; totally discredited both as an admiral and a general; and bringing no praise with him, but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

† Sir Robert Philips, in his speech made use of the following words: "I can live, though another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burdened with impositions, beyond what at present I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me: to have my person pent up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged.—O, improvident ancestors! O, unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us be in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or

remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person? I am weary of treating these ways; and therefore conclude to have a select committee in order to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of these grievances. And this petition being ready, examined, and approved, may be delivered to the king: of whose gracious answer we have no cause to doubt, our duties being to treat as able, our intentions so loyal, and the manner so dutiful. Nor then need we fear, that this is the critical parliament, as has been insinuated; or that this is the way to destruction: but assure ourselves of a happy issue. Then shall the king, as he calls us his great council, find us his true council, and own us his good council."



ploy the interval, in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties so lately violated. They knew that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former measures, had not, of itself, sufficient authority to secure the constitution against future invasion. Some act to that purpose must receive the sanction of the whole legislature: and they appointed a committee to prepare the model of so important a law. By collecting into one effort all the dangerous and oppressive claims of his prerogative, Charles had exposed them to the hazard of one assault; and had farther, by presenting a nearer view of the consequences attending them, roused the independent genius of the commons. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, the billeting of soldiers, martial law; these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges: they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted them from their ancestors: and their law they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. While the committee was employed in framing the petition of right, the favourers of each party, both in parliament and throughout the nation, were engaged in disputes about this bill, which, in all likelihood, was to form a memorable æra in the English government.

Though the house of lords was not insensible to the reasons urged in favour of the pretensions of the commons, they deemed the arguments pleaded in favour of the crown still more cogent and convincing. That assembly seems, during this whole period, to have acted, in the main, a reasonable and a moderate part; and it is inclined a little too much, as is natural, to the side of monarchy, they were far from entertaining any design of sacrificing to arbitrary will the liberties and privileges of the nation\*. Being afraid lest the commons should go too far in their projected petition, the peers proposed a plan of one more moderate, which they recommended to the consideration of the other house. It consisted merely in a general declaration, that the Great Charter, and the six statutes conceived to be explanations of it, stand still in force to all intents and purposes; that in consequence of the charter and statutes, and by the tenor of the ancient customs and laws of the realm, every subject has a fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental liberty of his person; that this property and liberty are as entire at pre-

sent as during any former period of the English government; that in all common cases, the common law ought to be the standard of proceedings: "And in case, that for the security of his majesty's person, the general safety of his people, or the peaceable government of the kingdom, the king shall find just cause, for reasons of state, to imprison or restrain any man's person; he was petitioned graciously to declare, that, within a convenient time he shall and will express the cause of the commitment or restraint, either general or special, and upon a cause so expressed, will leave the prisoner immediately to be tried according to the common law of the land †."

The king could easily see the consequence of these proceedings. Though he had offered, at the beginning of the session, to give his consent to any law for the security of the rights and liberties of the people, he had not expected that such inroads would be made on his prerogative. In order, therefore, to divert the commons from their intention, he sent a message, wherein he acknowledged past errors, and promised that, hereafter, there should be no just cause of complaint. But the king still persevered in his endeavours to elude the petition. He sent a letter to the house of lords, in which he went so far as to make a particular declaration, "That neither he nor his privy-council shall or will, at any time hereafter, commit or command to prison, or otherwise restrain, any man for not lending money, or for any other cause, which in his conscience he thought not to concern the public good, and the safety of the king and people." And he farther declared, "That he never would be guilty of so base an action as to pretend any cause, of whose truth he was not fully satisfied." This promise, however, though enforced to the commons by the recommendation of the upper house, made no more impression than all the former messages. Among the other invasions of the king, we may reckon the proposal of the house of peers, to subjoin, to the intended petition of right, the following clause: "We humbly present this petition to your majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power, with which your majesty is entrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people." Less penetration than was possessed by the leaders of the house of commons, could easily discover how captious this clause was, and how much it was calculated to elude the whole force of the petition.

These obstacles, therefore, being surmounted, the Petition of Right passed the commons, and was sent to the upper house ‡. The peers, who were probably well pleased in secret that all their solicitations had been eluded

\* Ashley, the king's serjeant, having asserted, in a pleading before the peers, that the king must sometimes govern by acts of state as well as by law; this position gave such offence, that he was immediately committed to prison, and was not released but upon his recantation and submission.

† Archbishop Abbot was employed by the lords to recommend, in a conference, this plan of a petition to the house of commons. The prelate, as was, no doubt, foreseen from his known principles, was not extremely urgent in his applications; and the lower house was fully convinced that the general declarations signified nothing, and that the latter clause left their liberties rather in worse condition than before. They proceeded, therefore with great zeal, in framing the model of a petition, which should contain expressions more precise, and more favourable to public freedom.

‡ This petition is of so great importance, that we shall here give it at length: "Humbly shew unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, That, whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of king Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non condonando*, that no tallage or aid shall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and, by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against rea-

son, and the franchise of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge: by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited the freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

"II. Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy-council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

"III. And whereas also, by the statute called *THE GREAT CHARTER of the LIBERTIES of ENGLAND*, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by



cluded by the commons, quickly passed the petition without any material altercation; and nothing but the royal assent was wanting to give it the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the house of peers; sent for the commons, and, being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men, when, instead of the usual concise and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition, "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong oppression, contrary to the just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." But the commons were dissatisfied with this answer, and returned in very ill humour. Usually when in that disposition, their zeal for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate catholics, ran extremely high. But they had already, in the beginning of the session, presented their petition of religion, and had received a satisfactory answer; though they expected that the execution of the laws against papists

would, for the future, be no more exact and rigid, than they had hitherto found it. To give vent to their present indignation, they fell with their utmost force on Dr. Manwaring\*. From Manwaring, the house of commons proceeded to censure the conduct of Buckingham. In vain did the king send them a message, in which he told them, that the session was drawing near to a conclusion; and desired, that they would not enter upon new business, nor cast any aspersions on his government and ministry. Though the court endeavoured to explain and soften this message by a subsequent message; as Charles was apt hastily to correct any hasty step which he had taken, it served rather to inflame than appease the commons: as if the method of their proceedings had here been prescribed to them. It was foreseen, that a great tempest was ready to burst on the duke; and in order to divert it, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to endeavour giving them satisfaction with regard to the petition of right. He came therefore to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "Let it be law as is desired," gave full sanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the house

by lawful judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land.

"IV. And, in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

"V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your majesty's writs of *Habeas Corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to the law.

"VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

"VII. And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and law of the land: and, by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late divers commissions, under your majesty's great seal, have issued forth by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority, to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

"VIII. By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the land, they had deserved death, by the said laws and statutes, also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

"IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborn to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid: which commissions,

and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

"X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament: and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted, concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that people may not be so burthened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

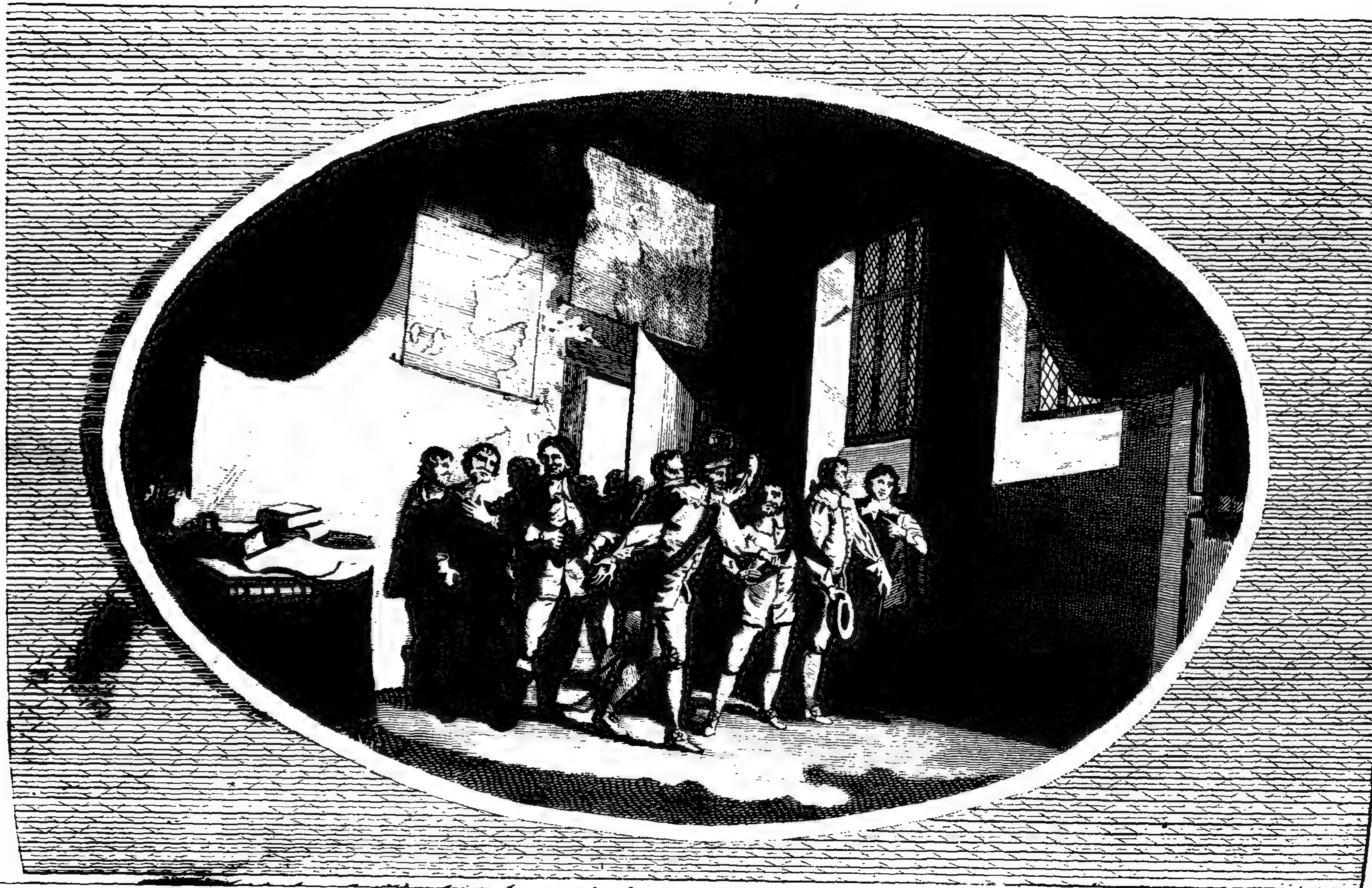
"XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom." Stat. 17 Car. cap. 14.

\* There is nothing which tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles as were altogether incompatible with a limited government. Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found, upon enquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and, when this sermon was looked into, it contained doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught that, though property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet, whenever any urgency required supply, all property was transferred to the sovereign; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his subjects. For these doctrines the commons impeached Manwaring. The sentence, pronounced upon him by the peers, was, that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined a thousand pounds to the king, make submission and acknowledgement of his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book be called in and burnt. It may be worthy of notice, that no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly noxious to both houses, received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of considerable value. Some years after, he was raised to the see of St. Asaph. If the republican spirit of the commons increased the monarchical spirit of the court; this latter, carried to so high a pitch, tended still farther to augment the former. And thus extremes were every where affected, and the just medium was gradually deserted by all men.

re-founded,



*Engraved for 'Wharton's History of England.*





refounded, and universal joy diffused over the nation, shewed how much this petition had been the object of all men's vows and expectations.

Soon after the commons resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct and behaviour, against whom they were implacable. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance which could render the whole administration despicable and odious. The compositions with catholics, they said, amounted to no less than a toleration, hateful to God, full of dishonour and disprofit to his majesty, and of extreme scandal and grief to his good people: they took notice of the violations of liberty above mentioned, against which the petition of right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy: they mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to Arminians, the commission for transporting German horse, that for levying illegal impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill-conduct of the duke of Buckingham. This remonstrance was, perhaps, not the less provoking to Charles, because, joined to the extreme acrimony of the subject, there were preserved in it, as in most of the remonstrances of that age, an affected civility and submission in the language. And as it was the first return which he met with for his late beneficial concessions, and for his sacrifices of prerogative, the greatest by far ever made by an English sovereign, nothing could be more the object of just and natural indignation. It was not without good grounds that the commons were so fierce and assuming. Though they had already granted the king the supply of five subsidies, they still retained a pledge in their hands, which they thought ensured them success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they justly deemed of such importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, so lately granted. The king, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting of this remonstrance, came suddenly to the parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation on the 26th of June.

About this time the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was dispatched to the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by sea: but he returned without effecting any thing; and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation either of cowardice or ill-conduct. In order to repair this dishonour, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had pre-

pared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. This supply had very much disappointed the king's expectations. The same mutinous spirit which prevailed in the house of commons, had diffused itself over the nation; and the commissioners appointed for making the assessments, had connived at all frauds, which might diminish the supply, and reduce the crown to still greater necessities. This national discontent, communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out in an event, which may be considered as remarkable. There was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the Isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his sullen, unsociable mind, he heard the nation resound with complaints against the duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the commons, in which his enemy was represented as the cause of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticism farther inflamed these vindictive reflections; and he fancied that he should do Heaven acceptable service, if, at one blow, he dispatched this dangerous foe to religion and to his country. Full of these dark views he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his sanguinary purpose. Buckingham had been engaged in conversation with Soubize and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiment having arisen, the dispute, though conducted with temper and decency, had produced some of those vehement gesticulations and lively exertions of voice, in which that nation, more than the English, are apt to indulge themselves. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to Sir Thomas Fryer, a colonel in the army, he was, on the sudden, over Sir Thomas's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than "The villain has killed me," in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last\*. This circumstance happened on the 23d of August, 1628.

When the king was informed of this assassination, he received the news in public with an unmoved and undisturbed countenance; and the courtiers, who studied his looks, concluded, that secretly he was not displeased to be rid of a minister so generally odious to the nation. But Charles's command of himself proceeded entirely from the gravity and composure of his temper. He was still, as much as ever, attached to his favourite; and, during his whole life, he retained an affection for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. He urged too, that Felton should be put to the torture, in order to extort from him a discovery of his accom-

immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him: he himself with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the swords of the most enraged; being willing to fall a sudden sacrifice to their anger, rather than be reserved for that public justice, which, he knew, must be executed upon him. He was now known to be that Felton who had served in the army. Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper so far to dissemble as to tell him, that Buckingham was only grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. Felton smiled, and told them, "That the duke, he knew full well, had received a blow which had terminated all their hopes." When asked, "at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed?" he replied, "that they need not to trouble themselves in that enquiry; that no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not yet even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat were found: for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had therefore taken care to explain them." Clarendon, vol. 1. p. 27, 28.

\* No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the conclusion, every one made his own conjecture; and all agreed that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood by the by-standers. In the hurry of revenge, they had instantly been put to death, had they not been saved by some of more temper and judgment, who, though they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial and examination. Near the door there was found a hat, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation. It was easily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin; but the difficulty still remained, "Who that person should be?" For the writing discovered not the name; and whoever he was, it was natural to believe that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat. In this hurry, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, "Here is the fellow who killed the duke," every body ran to ask, "Which he?" The man very sedately answered, "I am he." The more furious  
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plices: but the judges declared, that though that practice had formerly been very usual, it was altogether illegal.

The distress of Rochelle had in the mean time risen to the utmost extremity. In order to deprive that place of all succour, Richelieu had dared to project the throwing across the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boisterous ocean; and having executed his project, he now held the town closely blockaded on all sides. The inhabitants, though pressed with the greatest rigours of famine, still refused to submit; being supported, partly by the lectures of their zealous preachers, partly by the daily hopes of relief from England. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the earl of Lindsey; who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour: but by the delays of the English, that work was now fully finished and fortified; and the Rochellers, finding their last hopes to fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, on the 18th of October, even in sight of the English admiral. Of fifteen thousand persons shut up in the city, four thousand alone survived the fatigues and famine which they had undergone.

On the 20th of January, 1629, the parliament again met. They found many causes of complaint. Buckingham's conduct and character with some had afforded a reason, with others a pretence, for discontent against public measures: but after his death, there wanted not new reasons and new pretences for general dissatisfaction. Manwaring's pardon and promotion were taken notice of: Sibthorp and Cosins, two clergymen, who, for like reasons, were no less noxious to the commons, had met with like favour from the king: Montague, who had been censured for moderation towards the catholics had been created bishop of Chichester. They found, likewise, upon enquiry, that all the copies of the petition of right, which were dispersed, had, by the king's orders, annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the commons. An expedient by which Charles endeavoured to persuade the people that he had in no wise receded from his former claims and pretensions, particularly with regard to the levying of tonnage and poundage. Selden also complained in the house, that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been punished with the loss of his ears, by a discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber. But the great article on which the house of commons broke with the king, and which finally created in Charles a disgust to all parliaments, was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage. On this occasion, therefore, it is necessary to give an account of the controversy. When Charles opened the session, he informed the commons, "That he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it was ever, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people: and that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right which he assumed." This concession, however, did not satisfy the commons; and they insisted, as a necessary preliminary, that the king should once entirely desist from levying these duties; after which, they were to take it into consideration, how far they would restore him to the possession of a revenue, of which he had clearly divested himself. But, besides that this extreme rigour had never been exercised towards any of his predecessors, and many obvious inconveniences must follow from the intermission of the customs; there were other reasons which deterred Charles from complying with so hard a condition. The commons openly declared, that they had at present many important pretensions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance were refused, no supply must be expected from them. Notwithstanding this the king did not immediately break with the commons, upon their delay in voting him this supply. He thought that he could better justify any strong measure which he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he al-

lowed them to carry to the utmost extremities their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He contented himself, for the present, with soliciting the house by messages and speeches. But the commons, instead of hearkening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, which was the only grievance to which, in their opinion, they had not as yet, by their petition of right, applied a sufficient remedy.

It was not possible that this century, so fertile in religious sects and disputes, could escape the controversy concerning fatalism and free-will, which being strongly interwoven both with philosophy and theology, had, in all ages, thrown every school and every church into such inextricable doubt and perplexity. The first reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, and had composed, upon that system, all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with opposition from Arminius and his sectaries, the controversy was soon brought into this island, and began here to diffuse itself. The arminians, finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the fanaticism of the puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest preferments in the hierarchy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and court. Throughout the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The commons now levelled against them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. Amidst that complication of disputes in which men were then involved, we may observe, that the appellation puritan stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these stood the court party, the hierarchy, and the arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as the controversies on every subject grew daily warmer, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular. This house of commons, which was much governed by the puritannical party, thought that they could not better serve their cause than by branding and punishing the arminian sect, which, introducing an innovation in the church, were the least favoured and least powerful of all their antagonists. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, who were the chief supporters of episcopal government, and the most zealous partizans of the discipline and ceremonies of the church, were all supposed to be tainted with arminianism. The same men and their disciples were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be censured, and be expelled the church and court, it was concluded, that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the king, deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative, on which he at present insisted. But Charles was strongly determined from principles of piety and conscience, to oppose them.

In the debates of the commons, which are transmitted to us, it is easy to discern so early some sparks of that enthusiastic fire, which afterwards set the whole nation



in combustion \*. Oliver Cromwell, at that time a young man of no account in the nation, is mentioned in these debates, as complaining of one who, he was told, preached flat popery. The inquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with these theological or metaphysical controversies. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they had seized the goods of merchants who had refused to pay these duties: the barons of the exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head. One of the sheriffs of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the officers of the custom-house: the goods of Rolles, a merchant, and member of the house, being seized for his refusal to pay the duties, complaints were made of this violence, as if it were a breach of privilege: Charles supported his officers in all these measures; and the quarrel grew every day higher between him and the commons. Mention was made in the house of impeaching Sir Richard Weston, the treasurer; and the king began to entertain thoughts of finishing the session by a dissolution. Sir John Elliot framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, Sir John Finch, said, "That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question." Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine; till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet. And even the merchants who should voluntarily pay these duties, were denominated betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the house of lords, who was sent by the king, could not get admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings†: and a few days after, on the 10th of March the parliament was dissolved.

Charles, destitute of all supply, was reduced by necessity, to embrace a measure, which ought to have been the result of reason and sound policy: he made peace with the two crowns against which he had hitherto waged a war, entered into without necessity, and conducted without glory. Notwithstanding the distracted and helpless condition of England, no attempt was made

either by France or Spain, to invade their enemy; nor did they entertain any farther project, than to defend themselves against the feeble and ill-concerted expeditions of that kingdom. Pleased that the jealousies and quarrels between king and parliament had disarmed so formidable a power, they carefully avoided any enterprize which might rouse either the terror or anger of the English, and dispose them to domestic union and submission. The endeavours to regain the good-will of the nation were carried so far by the king of Spain, that he generously released and sent home all the English prisoners taken in the expedition against Cadiz. The example was imitated by France, after the retreat of the English from the Isle of Rhé. When princes were in such dispositions, and had so few pretensions on each other, it could not be difficult to conclude a peace. The treaty was first signed with France, on the 14th of April, 1629. The situation of the king's affairs did not entitle him to demand any conditions for the Hugonots, and they were abandoned to the will of their sovereign. Peace was afterwards concluded with Spain, (on the 5th of November, 1630;) where no conditions were made in favour of the palatine, except that Spain promised in general to use their good offices for his restoration. The influence of these two wars on domestic affairs, and on the dispositions of king and people, was of the utmost consequence: but no alteration was made by them on the foreign interests of the kingdom.

A neutrality was now embraced by the king between the rival powers of Bourbon and Austria; and during the rest of his reign, he seems to have little regarded foreign affairs, except so far as he was engaged by honour, and by friendship, for his sister and the palatine, to endeavour the procuring of some relief for that unhappy family. He joined his good offices to those of France, and mediated a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of engaging the former to embrace the protection of the oppressed protestants in the empire. This was the famed Gustavus, whose heroic genius, seconded by the wisest policy, made him in a little time the most distinguished monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the balance of Europe. To encourage and assist him in his projected invasion of Germany, Charles agreed to furnish him with six thousand men; but, that he might preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made use of the marquis of Hamilton's name. That nobleman entered into an engagement with Gustavus; and enlisting these troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe. The decisive battle of Leipzig was fought soon after; where the conduct of Tilly and the valour

\* Rouse in a speech, made use of the following allusion: "If a man meet a dog alone," said he, "the dog is fearful, though ever so fierce by nature: but if the dog have his master with him, he will set upon that man from whom he fled before. This shews, that lower natures, being backed by higher, increase in courage and strength; and certainly man, being backed with Omnipotency, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes; and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of us all, to make a vow and covenant henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion; and then shall we henceforth expect, with certainty, happiness in this world."

† The discontents of the nation ran high, on account of this violent rupture between the king and parliament. These discontents Charles inflamed by his affectation of a severity which he had not power, nor probably inclination, to carry to extremities. Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Cowton, Long, and Strode, were committed to prison, on account of the last tumult in the house, which was called sedition. With great difficulty, and after several delays, they were released, and the law was generally supposed to be wrested, in order to prolong their imprisonment. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good beha-

viour, and to be fined the two former a thousand pounds a-piece, the latter five hundred. This sentence, procured by the influence of the crown, served only to shew the king's disregard to the privileges of parliament, and to acquire an immense stock of popularity to the sufferers, who had so bravely, in opposition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country. The commons of England, though an immense body, and possessed of the greater part of the national property, were naturally somewhat defenceless; because of their personal equality, and their want of leaders: but the king's severity here pointed out leaders to them whose resentment was inflamed, and whose courage was no wise daunted by the hardships which they had undergone in so honourable a cause. So much did these prisoners glory in their sufferings, that, though they were promised liberty on that condition, they would not condescend even to present a petition to the king, expressing their sorrow for having offended him. They unanimously refused to find sureties for their good behaviour; and disdained to accept of deliverance on such easy terms. Nay, Hollis was so industrious to continue his meritorious distress, that, when one offered to bail him, he would not yield to the rule of court, and be himself bound with his friend. Even Lory, who had actually found sureties in the chief justice's chamber, declared in court, that his sureties should no longer continue. Yet because Sir John Elliot happened to die while in custody, a great clamour was raised against the administration; and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England. Rushworth. Whitlocke. Kennet.



of the Imperialists were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus and the superior valour of the Swedes. Germany was over-run in an instant by the victorious Swede; and Ferdinand's generals were foiled in every encounter. But by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed of the purpose for which he framed the alliance. Gustavus, elated by prosperity, began to form more extensive plans of ambition; and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it to subjection under his own. He refused to restore the palatine to his principality, except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted; till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swedish monarch perished in the midst of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies.

After the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from the queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favourite. That rustic contempt of the fair sex, which James affected, and which, banishing them from his court, made it resemble more a fair or an exchange, than the seat of a great prince, was very wide of the disposition of this monarch. But though full of complaisance to the whole sex, Charles reserved all his passion for his consort, to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed, that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent measures. Her religion, likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune; since it augmented the jealousy which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the catholics some indulgences which were generally distasteful to the nation.

In the former situation of the English government, when the sovereign was in a great measure independent of his subjects, the king chose his ministers either from personal favour, or from an opinion of their abilities, without any regard to their parliamentary interest or talents. It has since been the maxim of princes, wherever popular leaders encroach too much on royal authority, to confer offices on them; in expectation that they will afterwards become more careful not to diminish that power which has become their own. These politics were now embraced by Charles; a sure proof that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government. But the views of the king were at this time so repugnant to those of the puritans, that the leaders, whom he gained, lost from that moment all interest with their party, and were even pursued as traitors with implacable hatred and resentment. This was the case with Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created first baron, then a viscount, and afterwards earl of Strafford; made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief minister and counsellor\*. Sir Dudley Digges was about the same time created master of the rolls: Noy, attor-

\* By his eminent talents and abilities, Strafford merited all the confidence which his master reposed in him: his character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love: his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly bent all his endeavours to diminish, his virtue seems not to have been entirely pure, but to have been susceptible of strong impressions from private interest and ambition.

† This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise. He was disinterested, but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, in imposing by rigorous measures, his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate puritans, who had dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper made him neglect the views of pru-

ney-general: Littleton, solicitor-general. All these had likewise been parliamentary leaders; and were men eminent in their profession. In all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, bishop of London, had great influence over the king †. Bishop Laud was the person who acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdom.

The temper of the nation was now very different from what it was formerly; the ceremonies of the church were deemed relics of popish superstition; and it was with difficulty that the ancient ceremonies to which men had been accustomed, and which had been sanctified by the practice of the first reformers, could be retained in divine service: yet was this the time which Laud chose for the introduction of new ceremonies and observances. Besides that these were sure to displease as innovations, there lay, in the opinion of the public, another very forcible objection against them. Laud, and the other prelates who embraced his measures, were generally well instructed in sacred antiquity, and had adopted many of those religious sentiments which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Christian church, as is well known, was already sunk into those superstitions which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. The revival, therefore, of the ideas and practices of that age, could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Men also were apt to think, that, without some secret purpose, such insignificant observances would not be imposed with such unrelenting zeal on the refractory nation; and that Laud's scheme was to lead back the English by gradual steps to the religion of their ancestors. They considered not, that the very insignificance of these ceremonies recommended them to the superstitious prelate, and made them appear the more peculiarly sacred and religious, as they could serve to no other purpose. Nor was the resemblance to the Romish ritual any objection, but rather a merit, with Laud and his brethren; who bore a much greater kindness to the mother-church, as they called her, than to the sectaries and presbyterians, and frequently recommended her as a true Christian church, an appellation which they refused, or at least scrupled to give to the others. So openly were these tenets espoused, that not only the discontented puritans believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition: the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. His answer was, as he says himself, "That something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome were other than it is ‡. A court lady, daughter of the earl of Devonshire, having turned catholic, was asked by Laud the

dence and rules of good manners. He was in this respect happy, that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies to loyalty and true piety, and that every exercise of his anger, by that means, became in his eyes a merit and a virtue.

‡ As a specimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud sacrificed his own quiet and that of the nation, it may not be amiss to relate those which he was accused of employing in the consecration of St. Catherine's church, and which were the object of such general scandal and offence. On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of Glory may enter in!" Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: "This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with



the reason of her conversion. "It is chiefly, said she, because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of this expression being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you." It must be confessed, that though Laud deserved not the appellation of papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish: the same profound respect was exacted to the sacerdotal character, the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils, the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship, and the same superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments. No wonder, therefore, that this prelate was, every where, among the puritans, regarded with horror, as the fore-runner of antichrist.

It is not easy to imagine the discontents excited by Laud's innovation, and the suspicions which it gave rise to. The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, were also known to be great objects of scandal, as being popish practices: but the opposition rather increased than abated the zeal of the prelate for the introduction of these habits and ceremonies. All kinds of ornament, especially pictures, were necessary for supporting that mechanical devotion, which was proposed to be raised in this model of religion: but as these had been so much employed by the church of Rome, and had given rise to so much superstition, or what the puritans called idolatry; it was impossible to introduce them into English churches, without exciting general murmurs and complaints. But Laud, possessed of present authority, persisted in his purpose, and made several attempts towards acquiring these ornaments. Some of the pictures introduced by him were also found, upon enquiry, to be the very same that might be met with in the mass-book. The crucifix too, that eternal consolation of all pious catholics, and terror to all sound protestants, was not forgotten on this occasion\*. On pretence of pacifying disputes, orders were issued from the council, forbidding, on both sides, all preaching and printing with regard to the controverted points of predestination and free-will. But it was complied of, and probably with reason, that the impartiality was alto-

gether confined to the orders, and that the execution of them was only meant against the calvinists.

Laud and his followers, in return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, took care to magnify the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost detestation, all puritannical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown at the expence of public liberty, they made no scruple of encroaching themselves on the royal rights the most incontestible, in order to exalt the hierarchy, and procure to their own order dominion and independence. A divine and apostolical charter was insisted on, preferably to a legal and parliamentary one. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeazable: all right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgement in spiritual subjects, was refused to profane laymen: ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own name, without any notice taken of the king's authority: and Charles, though extremely jealous of every claim in popular assemblies, seemed rather to encourage than repress the encroachments of his clergy.

During these transactions tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former additional impositions were still exacted. Even new impositions were laid on several kinds of merchandize. The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever; in default of the payment of customs. In order to exercise the militia, and to keep them in good order, each county, by an edict of the council, was assessed in a certain sum, for maintaining a muster-master, appointed for that service. Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue. A commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown-lands upon defective titles; and, on pretence, some money was exacted from the people. Charles imitated the example of some of his predecessors in summoning those who were possessed of forty pounds a-year in land to receive the honour of knighthood, or to compound for their refusal. Commissioners were appointed for fixing the rates of composition; and instructions were given to these commissioners not to accept of a less sum

his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it: and on their return, they went round the church, repeating as they marched along, some of the psalms: and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses." After this, the bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse he bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say, Amen." The imprecations being all so *pioussly* finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he in a like manner bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say, Amen." The sermon followed; after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner: as he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences: and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. Next, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, fluted back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and

floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy. Orders were given, and rigorously insisted on, that the communion-table should be removed from the middle of the area, where it hitherto stood in all the churches, except in cathedrals. It was placed at the east end, railed in, and denominated an ALTAR; as the clergymen who officiated received commonly the appellation of PRIEST. Hume.

\* It was much remarked, that Saerfield, the recorder of Salisbury, was tried in the star-chamber, for having broken, contrary to the bishop of Salisbury's express injunctions, a painted window of St. Edmond's church in that city. He boasted, that he had destroyed the monuments of idolatry: but for this effort of his zeal, he was fined five hundred pounds, removed from his office, condemned to make a public acknowledgement, and he bound to his good behaviour. Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended and derided by the high-commission court: oaths were, by many of the bishops, imposed on the church-wardens; and they were sworn to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canon. Such a measure, though practised during the reign of Elizabeth, gave much offence; as resembling too nearly the practice of the Romish inquisition. To shew the great alienation from the churches reformed after the presbyterian model, Laud advised, that the discipline and worship of the church should be imposed on the English regiments and trading companies abroad. All foreigners of the Dutch and Walloon congregations were commanded to attend the established church; and indulgence was granted to none after the children of the first denizens. Scudamore too, the king's ambassador at Paris, had orders to withdraw himself from the communion of the Hugonots. Even men of sense were apt to blame this conduct, not only because it gave offence in England, but because in foreign countries it lost the crown the advantage of being considered as the head and support of the reformation.



than would have been due by the party, upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. Nothing proves more plainly how ill-disposed the people were to the measures of the crown, than to observe, that they loudly complained of an expedient, founded on positive statute, and warranted by such a precedent. The law was pretended to be obsolete; though only one reign had intervened since the last execution of it.

That the clergy might have a magnificent fabric for public worship, subscriptions were set on foot, in 1631, for repairing and rebuilding St. Paul's; and the king, by his countenance and example, encouraged this undertaking. By order of the privy-council, St. Gregory's church was removed, as an impediment to the project of extending and beautifying the cathedral. Some houses and shops likewise were pulled down, and compensation was made to the owners. But even this was said, by the puritans, to favour of popish superstition. A stamp duty was imposed on cards; and monopolies were again revived\*.

The council of York had been first erected, after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and this exercise of power, like many others, was indulged to that arbitrary monarch. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, some time after Wentworth was made president, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil jurisdiction, and that, in some respects, discretionary. Some irregular acts of that council were complained of in 1632. The court of star-chamber extended its authority; and it was matter of complaint, in 1633, that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts; imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishments, beyond the usual course of justice†. Charles likewise renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. Some encouragement and protection, which the king and the bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the puritans.

On the 12th of June, this year, Charles made a journey to Scotland, attended by the court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to pass through the cere-

mony of his coronation. The nobility and gentry of both kingdoms rivalled each other, in expressing all duty and respect to the king, and in shewing mutual friendship and regard to each other. No one could have suspected, from exterior appearances, that such dreadful scenes were preparing. One chief thing which the king transacted in this parliament, was, besides obtaining some supply, to procure authority for ordering the habits of clergymen. The act did not pass without opposition and difficulty. The dreadful surplice was before men's eyes; and they apprehended, with some reason, that, under sanction of this law, it would soon be introduced among them. Though the king believed that his prerogative entitled him to a power, in general of directing whatever belonged to the exterior government of the church, this was deemed a matter of too great importance to be ordered without the sanction of a particular statute.

Upon the king's return to England, he heard of archbishop Abbot's death: and, without delay, he conferred that dignity on his favourite, Laud; who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to maintain ecclesiastical discipline with greater rigour, and to aggravate the general discontent in the nation. Laud obtained the bishopric of London for his friend Juxon; and, about a year after the death of Sir Richard Weston, created earl of Portland, had interest enough to engage the king to make that prelate high treasurer‡.

In 1634 ship-money was introduced. The first writs of this kind had been directed to sea-port towns only; but ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals. The amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding two hundred thousand pounds: it was levied upon the people with equality: the money was entirely expended on the navy, to the great honour and advantage of the kingdom: as England had no military force, while all the other powers of Europe were strongly armed, a fleet seemed absolutely necessary for her security: and it was obvious that a navy must be built and equipped at leisure, during peace; nor could it possibly be fitted out on a sudden emergence, when the danger became urgent: yet all these considerations could not reconcile the people to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary: by the same right any other tax might be imposed; and men thought a powerful fleet, though very desirable both for the credit and safety of the kingdom, but an unequal recompence for their liberties, which,

\* It is affirmed by Clarendon, that so little benefit was reaped from these projects, that of two hundred thousand pounds thereby levied on the people, scarcely one thousand, five hundred came into the king's coffers.

† Sir David Foulis was fined five thousand pounds, chiefly because he had dissuaded a friend from compounding with the commissioners of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called *Histrio-Mastix*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author likewise took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and maypoles. His zeal against all these levities, he says, was first moved by observing, that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itself. Besides, that the players were often papists, and desperately wicked; the play-houses, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-haunters little better than incarnate devils; and so many steps in a dance, so many paces to hell. The chief crime of Nero he represents to have been his frequenting and acting of plays; and those, who nobly conspired his death, were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The rest of his thousand pages are of a like strain. He had obtained a licence from archbishop Abbot's chaplain; yet was he indicted in the star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted her part in pastorals and interludes, which were represented at court. The author, it must be owned, had, in plainer terms, blamed the

hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worship, and the new superstitions, introduced by Laud; and this probably, together with the obstinacy and petulance of his behaviour before the star-chamber, was the reason why his sentence was so severe. The music in the churches, he affirmed, not to be the noise of men, but a bleating of brute beasts; croakings bellow the tenor, as it were oxen; bark a counterpart, as it were a kennel of dogs; roar out a treble, as it were a sport of bulls; and grunt out a base, as it were a number of hogs; Christmas, as it is kept, is the devil's Christmas; and Prynne employed a great number of pages to persuade men to affect the name of puritan. *Ruth.* vol. II. p. 223. He was condemned to be put from the bar, to stand on the pillow in two places, Westminster and Cheapside: to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay five thousand pounds fine to the king; and to be imprisoned during life. This same Prynne was a great stickler for the puritans; and it was chiefly with a view of mortifying that sect, that, though of an honourable profession, he was condemned by the star-chamber to so ignominious a punishment.

‡ Juxon was a person of great integrity, mildness, and humanity, and endued with a good understanding. Yet did his last promotion give general offence. His birth and character were deemed too obscure for a man raised to one of the highest offices of the crown. And the clergy, it was thought, were already too much elated by former instances of the king's attachment to them, and needed not this farther encouragement to assume dominion over the laity. The puritans, likewise, were much dissatisfied with Juxon, notwithstanding his eminent virtues, because he was a lover of profane field sports and hunting.



they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the obtaining of it. England, unhappy in its present situation, that the king had entertained a very different idea of the constitution, from that which began in general to prevail among his subjects. He did not regard national privileges as so sacred and inviolable, that nothing but extreme necessity could justify an infringement of them. He considered himself as the supreme magistrate, to whose care Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed his people, whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with ample discretionary powers for that salutary purpose. But the public liberty must be so precarious under this exorbitant prerogative, as to render an opposition not only excusable, but laudable in the people\*.

In the reign of Henry VII. some laws had been enacted against depopulation, or the converting of arable lands into pasture. By a decree of the star-chamber Sir Anthony Roper was fined four thousand pounds for an offence of that nature. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into composition; and above thirty thousand pounds were levied by that expedient. Like compositions, or in default of them, heavy fines, were required for encroachments on the king's forests; whose bounds, by decrees deemed arbitrary, were extended much beyond what was usual†. Morley was fined ten thousand pounds for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of Whitehall, Sir George Theobald, one of the king's servants. Allison had reported, that the archbishop of York had incurred the king's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration for the catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander against the archbishop, he was condemned in the star-chamber to be fined one thousand pounds, to be committed to prison, to be bound to his good behaviour during life, to be whipped, and to be set on the pillory at Westminster, and in three other towns in England. Robins, who had been an accomplice in his guilt, was condemned by a sentence equally severe‡.

\* Here is a passage of Sir John Davis's question concerning impositions, p. 131. "This power of laying on arbitrarily new impositions being a prerogative in point of government, as well as in point of profit, it cannot be restrained or bound by act of parliament; it cannot be limited by any certain or fixed rule of law, no more than the course of a pilot upon the sea, who must turn the helm, or bear higher or lower sail, according to the wind or weather; and therefore it may be properly said, that the king's prerogative in this point, is as strong as Sampson: it cannot be bound: for though an act of parliament be made to restrain it, and the king doth give his consent unto, as Sampson was bound with his own consent, yet if the Philistines come; that is, if any just or important occasion do arise, it cannot hold or restrain the prerogative; it will be as thread, and broken as easy as the bonds of Sampson. The king's prerogatives are the sun-beams of the crown, and as inseparable from it as the sun-beams from the sun: the king's crown must be taken from him; Sampson's hair must be cut off, before his courage can be any jot abated. Hence it is, that neither the king's act, nor any act of parliament, can give away his prerogative."

† The bounds of one forest, that of Rockingham, were increased from six miles to sixty. Stafford's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 117.

‡ There are other instances of the high respect paid to the nobility and to the great in that age, when the powers of monarchy, though disputed, still maintained themselves in their primitive vigour. Clarendon tells us a pleasant incident to this purpose: a waterman belonging to a man of quality, having a squabble with a citizen about his fare, shewed his badge, the crest of his master, which happened to be a swan; and thence insisted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied carelessly, that he did not trouble his head about that goose. For this offence he was summoned before the marshal's court; was fined, as having opprobriously defamed the nobleman's crest, by calling the swan a goose; and was in effect reduced to beggary. Sir Richard Granville had thought himself ill used by the earl of Suffolk in a law-suit; and he was accused before the star-chamber, of having said of that nobleman, that he was a base lord. The evidence against him was somewhat lame; yet, for this slight offence, insufficiently proved, he was condemned to pay a fine of eight thousand pounds, one-

In 1635, Charles, in imitation of Elizabeth and James, issued proclamations forbidding the landed gentlemen and the nobility to live idly in London, and ordering them to retire to their country seats. For disobedience to this edict, many were indicted by the attorney-general, and were fined in the star-chamber. This occasioned discontents; and the sentences were complained of as illegal. Ray, having exported fullers-earth, contrary to the king's proclamation, was, besides the pillory, condemned in the star-chamber to a fine of two thousand pounds. Like fines were levied on Ferry, Eman, and others, for disobeying a proclamation which forbade the exportation of gold. In order to account for the subsequent convulsions, even these incidents are not to be overlooked, as frivolous or contemptible. Such severities were afterwards magnified into the greatest enormities. There remains a proclamation of this year, prohibiting hackney-coaches from standing in the street. We are told, that there were not above twenty coaches of that kind in London. There are, at present, upwards of a thousand.

The effects of ship-money began now to appear. A formidable fleet of sixty sail, the greatest that England had ever known, was equipped, in 1636, under the earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring-busses of the Dutch, which fished in what were called the British Seas. The Dutch were content to pay thirty thousand florins for a licence during this year. This year the king sent a squadron against Sallee; and, with the assistance of the emperor of Morocco, destroyed that receptacle of pirates, by whom the English commerce, and even the English coasts, had long been infested.

In 1637, Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels, and were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne himself was tried for a new offence; and, together with another fine of five thousand pounds, was condemned to lose what remained of his ears§.

half to the earl, the other to the king. Sir George Markham, following a chase where lord Darcy's huntsman was exercising his hounds, kept closer to the dogs than was thought proper by the huntsman, who besides other rudeness, gave him foul language, which Sir George returned with a stroke of his whip. The fellow threatened to complain to his master: the knight replied, if his master should justify such insolence, he would serve him in the same manner, or words to that effect. Sir George was summoned before the star-chamber, and fined ten thousand pounds.

§ Besides that these writers had attacked with great severity, and even an intemperate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government of the church; the very answers which they gave in to the court, were so full of contumacy and of invectives against the prelates, that no lawyer could be prevailed on to sign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the indignation of the public. The severity of the star-chamber, which was generally ascribed to Laud's passionate disposition, was, without doubt, blameable; but will naturally, to us, appear enormous, who enjoy, in the utmost latitude, that liberty of the press, which is esteemed so necessary in every monarchy, confined by strict legal limitations. But as these limitations were not regularly fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before; so was this liberty totally unknown, and was generally deemed, as well as religious toleration, incompatible with all good government. Burton, in his book where he complained of innovations, mentioned among others, that a certain Wednesday had been appointed for a fast, and that the fast was ordered to be celebrated without any sermons. The intention, as he pretended, of that novelty was, by the example of a fast without sermons, to suppress all the Wednesday's lectures in London. It is observable, that the church of Rome and that of England, being both of them lovers of form and ceremony, and order, are more friends to prayer than preaching: while the puritanical sectaries, who find that the latter method of address, being directed to a numerous audience present and visible, is more inflaming and animating, have always regarded it as the chief part of divine service.



The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and contentment, and dreading, perhaps, the dangerous consequences of so disaffected a colony, prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, debarring these devotees access even into those inhospitable deserts. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hamden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country, and fly to the other extremity of the globe; where they might enjoy lectures and discourses of any length or form which pleased them. The king had afterwards full leisure to repent this exercise of his authority. Complaints about this time were made, that the petition of right was, in some instances, violated, and that, upon a commitment by the king and council, bail or releasement had been refused to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, a man of spirit and learning, a popular prelate, and who had been lord-keeper, was fined ten thousand pounds by the star-chamber, committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure, and suspended from his office\*. Lilburn was accused before the star-chamber of publishing and dispersing seditious pamphlets. He was ordered to be examined; but refused to take the oath usual in that court, that he would answer interrogatories, even though they might lead him to accuse himself. For this contempt, as it was interpreted, he was condemned to be whipped at the cart, and stand on the pillory; he harangued the populace, and declaimed violently against the tyranny of bishops. From his pockets also he scattered pamphlets, said to be seditious; because they attacked the hierarchy. The star-chamber which was sitting at that very time, ordered him immediately to be gagged. He ceased not, however, though both gagged and pillored, to stamp with his feet, and gesticulate, in order to shew the people, that, if he had it in his power, he would still harangue them. This behaviour gave fresh provocation to the star-chamber; and they condemned him to be imprisoned in a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons. The jealousy of the church appeared in another instance less tragical. Archy, the king's fool, who, by his office, had the privilege of jesting on his master, and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too sacred a person to be played with. News having arrived from Scotland of the first commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy seeing the primate pass by, called to him, "Who's fool, now, my lord?" For this offence, Archy was ordered, by sentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the king's service. Here is another instance of that rigorous subjection in which all men were held by Laud. Some young gentlemen of Lincoln's-Inn, heated by their cups, having drank confusion to the archbishop, were at his instigation cited before the star-chamber. They applied to the earl of Dorset for protection. "Who bears witness against you?" said Dorset, "One of the drawers," they said. "Where did he stand when you were supposed to drink this health?" rejoined the earl. "He was at the door, they replied,

going out of the room." "Tush! cried he, the drawer was mistaken: you drank confusion to the archbishop of Canterbury's enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the last word." This hint supplied the young gentlemen with a new method of defence: and being advised by Dorset to behave with great humanity and submission to the primate; the modesty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology, with the patronage of that noble lord, saved them from any severer punishment than a reproof and admonition.

This year, John Hamden acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation, and has merited great renown with posterity, for the bold stand which he made in defence of the laws and liberty of his country. After the imposing of ship-money, Charles, in order to discourage all opposition, had proposed this question to the judges; "Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not sole judge of the necessity?" Hamden had been rated at twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham: yet notwithstanding the great power, and sometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithstanding the small prospect of relief from parliament; he resolved, rather than tamely to submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen: but the principles, reasonings, and behaviour of the parties engaged in the trial, were much canvassed and enquired into; and nothing could equal the favour paid to the one side, except the hatred which attended the other. It was urged by Hamden's counsel, and by his partizans in the nation, "That the plea of necessity was in vain introduced into a trial of law; since it was the nature of necessity to abolish all law, and, by irresistible violence, to dissolve all the weaker and more artificial ties of human society. Not only the prince, in cases of extreme distress, is exempted from the ordinary rules of administration: all orders of men are then levelled; and any individual may consult the public safety by any expedient which his situation enables him to employ. But to produce so violent an effect, and so hazardous to every community, an ordinary danger or difficulty is not sufficient, much less, a necessity which is merely fictitious and pretended. Where the peril is urgent and extreme, it will be palpable to every member of the society; and though all ancient rules of government are in that case abrogated, men will readily, of themselves, submit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for their preservation. But what is there in common between such suppositions, and the present condition of the nation? England enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours: and what is more, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves, and by their mutual enmities farther ensure her tranquillity. The very writs themselves, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the supposition of necessity, and pretend only that the seas are infested with pirates; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well await a legal supply from parliament. The writs likewise allow several months for equipping the ships; which

\* This severe sentence was founded on frivolous sentences, and was more ascribed to Laud's vengeance, than to any guilt of the bishop. Laud, however, had owned his first promotion to the good offices of that prelate with king James. But so implacable was the haughty primate, that he raised up a new prosecution against Williams, on the strangest pretence imaginable. In order to levy the fine above-mentioned, some officers had been sent to seize all the furniture and books of his episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in searching the house, they found in a corner some neglected letters which had been thrown aside as useless. These letters were written by one Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, and were directed to Williams. Mention was

there made of a *little great man*; and in another passage, the same person was denominated a *little wretch*. By inferences and contractions, these epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better foundation was Williams tried anew, as having received scandalous letters, and not discovering that private correspondence. For this offence another fine of eight thousand pounds was levied on him: Osbaldistone was likewise brought to trial, and condemned to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. He saved himself by flight; and left a note in his study, where in he said, "That he was gone beyond Canterbury."



proves a very calm and deliberate species of necessity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requisite for summoning that assembly. It is strange too, that an extreme necessity which is always apparent, and usually comes to a sudden crisis, should now have continued, without interruption, for near four years, and should have remained, during so long a time, invisible to the whole kingdom. And as to the pretension, that the king is sole judge of the necessity; what is this but to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? To expect that the public will be convinced by such reasoning, must aggravate the general indignation; by adding, to violence against men's persons and their property, so cruel a mockery of their understanding. In vain are precedents of ancient writs produced: these writs, when examined, are only found to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, is abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued, from the time of Edward III.; and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exercised, was, to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the public. How wide are these precedents from a power of obliging the people, at their own charge, to build new ships, to victual and pay them, for the public; nay, to furnish money to the crown for that purpose! What security either against the farther extension of this claim, or against diverting to other purposes the public money, so levied? The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money: wherever any difficulty shall occur, the administration, instead of endeavouring to elude or overcome it by gentle and prudent measures, will instantly represent it as a reason for infringing all ancient laws and institutions: and if such maxims and such practices prevail, what has become of national liberty? What authority is left to the Great Charter, to the statutes, and to that very petition of right, which, in the present reign, had been so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature? The defenceless condition of the kingdom, while unprovided with a navy; the inability of the king, from his established revenues, with the utmost care and frugality, to equip and maintain one; the impossibility of obtaining, on reasonable terms, any voluntary supply from parliament: all these are reasons of state, not topics of law. If these reasons appear to the king so urgent as to dispense with the legal rules of government; let him enforce his edicts by his court of star-chamber, the proper instrument of irregular and absolute power; not prostitute the character of his judges by a decree which is not, and cannot possibly be legal. By this means the boundaries at least will be kept more distinct between ordinary law and extraordinary exertions of prerogative; and men will know, that the national constitution is only suspended during a present and difficult emergence, but has not undergone a total and fundamental alteration. Notwithstanding the reasons offered by Hamden's counsel, the judges, four excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Hamden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the danger to which their liberties were exposed. The national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, they said, concur with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gives aid to civil usurpation; iniqui-

tous taxes are supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lie prostrate at the feet of the monarch. What though the personal character of the king, amidst all his misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even praise? He was but one man; and the privileges of the people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes. Such, or more severe, were the sentiments promoted by a great party in the nation: no excuse on the king's part, or alleviation, how reasonable soever could be hearkened to or admitted: and to redress these grievances, a parliament was impatiently longed for; or any other incident, however calamitous, that might secure the people against those oppressions which they felt, or the greater ills which they apprehended from the combined encroachments of church and state.

During these transactions the people of Scotland were much discontented. Though the pacific government of James, and the great authority which he had acquired, had much allayed the feuds among the great families, and had established law and order throughout the kingdom; the Scottish nobility were still possessed of the chief power and influence over the people. Their property was extensive; their hereditary jurisdictions and the feudal tenures increased their authority; and the attachment of the gentry to the heads of families established a kind of voluntary servitude under the chieftains. Besides that long absence had much loosened the king's connections with the nobility, who resided chiefly at their own country-seats; they were in general at this time much disgusted with the court. Charles was extremely attached to the ecclesiastics; and as it is natural for men to persuade themselves that their interest coincides with their inclination; he had established it as a fixed maxim of policy; to entreat the power and authority of that order. Many of the prelates were raised to the chief dignities of the state\*. The advantages possessed by the church, disgusted the nobility, who, deeming themselves superior in rank to this new order of men, were displeased to find themselves inferior in power and influence. Interest joined itself to ambition, and begat a jealousy, lest the episcopal sees, which, at the reformation, had been pillaged by the nobles, should again be enriched at the expence of that order. By a most useful and beneficial law, the impropriations had already been ravished from the great men: competent salaries had been assigned to the impoverished clergy from the tithes of each parish: and what remained, the proprietor of the land was empowered to purchase at a low valuation. The king likewise, warranted by ancient law and practice, had declared for a general resumption of all crown-lands alienated by his predecessors; and though he took no step towards the execution of this project, the very pretension to such power had excited jealousy and discontent. Notwithstanding the tender regard which Charles bore to the whole church, he had been able, in Scotland, to acquire only the affection of the superior rank among the clergy. The ministers in general equalled, if not exceeded the nobility, in their prejudices against the court, against the prelate, and against episcopal authority. In the present disposition of men's minds, there was another circumstance, which drew consideration, and counterbalanced power and riches; and that was the fervour of piety, and the rhetoric of religious lectures and discourses. Checked by the prelates in the license of preaching, the clergy regarded episcopal jurisdiction both as a tyranny and an usurpation, and maintained a party among ecclesiastics to be a divine

\* Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, was created chancellor: nine of the bishops were privy counsellors; the bishop of Ross aspired to the office of treasurer: some of the prelates possessed places in the exchequer: and it was even en-

deavoured to revive the first institution of the college of justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority.



privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. The jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts, was, in a manner, abolished by the bishops; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for several years. A new oath was imposed on itinerants, by which they swore to observe the articles of Perth, and submit to the liturgy and canons: and the whole system of church government, during a course of thirty years, had been changed by means of the innovations introduced by James and Charles. The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the discontents which prevailed among these two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary ones. The same horror against popery, with which the English puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland. The genius of religion, which prevailed in the court and among the prelates, was of an opposite nature; and having some affinity to the Romish worship, led them to mollify, as much as possible, the severe prejudices, and to speak of the catholics in more charitable language, and with more reconciling expressions. From this foundation, a panic fear of popery was easily raised; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine service, was part of that great mystery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the king and the bishops, was to overpread the nation. The innovations which James had made were considered as preparatives to this design; and the alterations attempted by Charles were represented as a declaration of his intentions. Through the whole of this reign, nothing had more fatal influence, in both kingdoms, than this groundless apprehension, which with so much credulity was embraced, by all ranks and degrees of men.

Amidst these dangerous complaints and terrors of religious innovation, the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the nation were imagined, and with reason, not to be altogether free from invasion. The establishment of the high-commission by James seemed a considerable encroachment of the crown, and erected the most dangerous and arbitrary of all courts, by a method equally dangerous and arbitrary. All the steps towards the settlement of episcopacy had indeed been taken with consent of parliament: the articles of Perth were confirmed in 1621: in 1633, the king had obtained a general ratification of every ecclesiastical establishment; but these laws had less authority with the nation, as they were known to have passed contrary to the sentiments even of those who voted for them, and were extorted by the authority and importunity of the sovereign. But there prevailed among the greater part of the nation another principle, of the most important and most dangerous nature, and which, if admitted, destroyed entirely the validity of all such statutes. The ecclesiastical authority was supposed totally independent of the civil; and, consequently, nothing but the consent of the church itself, was represented as sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. And though James had obtained the vote of assemblies for receiving episcopacy and his new rites, it must be confessed, that such irregularities had prevailed in constituting these ecclesiastical courts, and there were some grounds for denying the authority of all their acts. Charles, sensible that an extorted consent, attended with such invidious circumstances, would rather be prejudicial to his measures, had laid aside the use of assemblies, and was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church by an authority, to which he thought himself fully entitled, and which he believed inherent in the crown. The king's great aim was to complete the work which his father had begun; to establish discipline upon a regular system of canons, to introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform.

The canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635; and were received by the

nation with great inward apprehension and discontent. Men felt displeasure, at seeing the royal authority highly exalted by them, and represented as absolute and uncontrollable. They saw these speculative principles reduced to practice, and a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent either of church or state. And they were apt to deride the negligence with which these important edicts had been compiled, when they found that the new liturgy or service-book was every where, under severe penalties, enjoined by them, though it had not yet been composed or published. The liturgy, which the king imposed on Scotland, was copied from that of England: but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his ancient kingdom, a few alterations were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh. But the Scots had universally entertained a notion, that, though riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a sparing hand, they could boast of spiritual treasures more abundant and more genuine than were enjoyed by any nation under Heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution; and their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less show and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained against it, even considered in itself; much more when regarded as a preparative, which was soon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the very few alterations which distinguished the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence; this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion with which the people were possessed. Easter-day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: but in order to judge more surely of men's dispositions, the council delayed the matter till the 23d of July; and they even gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symptoms of discontent appeared, they thought that they might safely proceed in their purpose: and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; the bishop himself and many of the privy-council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the meanest sort, most of them women, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, "A pope! a pope! antichrist! stone him!" raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: the council was insulted: and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: stones were thrown at the doors and windows: and when the service was ended, the bishop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy-seal, because he carried the bishop in his coach, was pelted with stones, and hooted at with execrations, and pressed upon by the eager populace, that if his servants, with drawn swords, had not kept them off, the bishop's life had been exposed to the utmost danger. Though it was violently suspected, that the low populace, who alone appeared, had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced; and every one seemed displeased with the licentiousness of the giddy multitude. It was not safe, however, to hazard a new insult by any new attempt to read the liturgy; and the people seemed, for the time, to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known that the king still persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men fortified themselves still further in their prejudices against it: and great multitudes resorted to Edinburgh, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty. It was not long before they broke



broke out in the most violent disorder. The bishop of Galloway was attacked in the streets, and chased into the chamber where the privy-council were sitting. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: The town-council met with the same fate: and nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their application to some popular lords, who protected them, and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though nobody of rank seemed as yet to countenance them.

People in general began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women took part, and, as was usual, with violence: the clergy, every-where, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same: the pulpits resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist: and the populace, who first opposed the service, was often compared to Balaam's ass, an animal, in itself, stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world. In short, symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder. The primate, a man of wisdom and prudence, who was all along averse to the introduction of the liturgy, represented to the king the state of the nation: the earl of Traquair, the treasurer, set out for London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him; yet was Charles inflexible.

To this violent combination, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; which he issued on the 19th of February, 1638; and in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and Lord Lindsey: and this is the first time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition: but this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order took place. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burghesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed with the utmost regularity. And among the first acts of their government was the production of the covenant\*.

The king began to apprehend the consequences of this covenant; and in June following he sent the marquis of Hamilton as commissioner, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled: and he thought, that on his part he had made very satisfactory concessions, when he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, till in a fair and legal way they could be received; and so to model the high commission, that it should no longer give offence to his subjects. Such general declarations could not well give content to any, much less to

those who carried so much higher their pretensions. The covenanters found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation: above sixty thousand people were assembled in a tumultuous manner in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood: Charles possessed no regular force in either of his kingdoms: and the discontents in England, though secret, were believed so violent, that the king, it was thought, would find it very difficult to employ in such a cause the power of that kingdom. The more, therefore, the popular leaders in Scotland considered their situation, the less apprehensions did they entertain of royal power, and the more rigorously did they insist on entire satisfaction. In answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism†. Hamilton returned to London: made another fruitless journey with new concessions to Edinburgh, returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The king now was willing entirely to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission court. He was even resolved to limit extremely the power of the bishops, and was content if on any terms he could retain that order in the church of Scotland. And to ensure all these gracious offers, he gave Hamilton authority to summon an assembly, then a parliament, where every national grievance might be redressed and remedied. These successive concessions of the king, which yet came still short of the rising demands of the malcontents, discovered his own weakness, encouraged their insolence, and gave no satisfaction. The offer, however, of an assembly and a parliament, in which they expected to be entirely masters, was willingly embraced by the covenanters. Charles, perceiving what advantage his enemies had reaped from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side; and he ordered one to be drawn up for that purpose. It consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery above-mentioned; which, though the king did not approve of it, he thought it safest to adopt, in order to remove all suspicions entertained against him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had been careful not to except the king; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expressed the duty and loyalty of the subscribers to his majesty. But the covenanters, perceiving that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost scorn and detestation. And without delay they proceeded to model the future assembly, from which such great achievements were expected.

The genius of that religion which prevailed in Scotland, and which every day was secretly gaining ground in England, was far from inculcating deference and submission to the ecclesiastics, merely as such: the clergy of Scotland, though such tumult was excited about religious worship and discipline, were both poor and in small numbers; nor are they in general to be considered as the ringleaders of the sedition, which was raised on their account. On the contrary, the laity, apprehending a spirit of moderation in that order, resolved to domineer entirely in the assembly which was summoned, and to hurry on the ecclesiastics by the same furious zeal with which they were themselves transported. It had been usual, before the establishment of prelacy for each

\* This famous covenant consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many invectives, fitted to inflame the minds of men against their fellow creatures, whom Heaven has enjoined them to cherish and to love. There followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever: and all this, for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country. The people, without distinction of rank and condition, of age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant: few, in their judgement, disapproved of it. The king's ministers and coun-

sellors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general contagion. And none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so salutary and serious a combination.

† The clergy even invited the commissioner himself to subscribe it, by informing him, "With what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people; what resolutions and beginnings of reformation of manners were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation, above any measure they had ever before found or could have expected; how great glory the Lord had received thereby; and what confidence they had that God would make Scotland a blessed kingdom."



presbytery to send to the assembly, besides two or three ministers, one lay-commissioner\*, and as all the boroughs and universities sent likewise commissioners, the lay-members in that ecclesiastical court nearly equalled the ecclesiastics. By an edict of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder from each parish was ordered to attend the presbytery, and to give his vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be deputed to the assembly. As it is not usual for the ministers who are put in the lists of candidates, to claim a vote, all the elections by that means fell into the hands of the laity: the most furious of all ranks were chosen: and the more to overawe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon, of chusing to every commissioner four or five lay-assessors, who, though they could have no vote, might yet interpose with their advice and authority in the assembly. The assembly met at Glasgow: and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators; and it was apparent, that the resolutions taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of opposition†. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioners too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and in his majesty's name, dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly since the accession of James to the crown of England were declared null and invalid; and the acts of parliament which affected ecclesiastical affairs were supposed to have no manner of authority. And thus episcopacy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful: and the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long course of years had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication. But as the covenanters were sensible that their transactions would not be assented to by the king; it became necessary to maintain their religious tenets by military force, and not to trust entirely to supernatural assistance, of which, however, they held themselves well assured. They cast their eyes on all sides, abroad and at home, whence they could expect any assistance.

After France and Holland had entered into a league against Spain, and framed a treaty of partition, by which they were to divide between them the Low Country provinces, England was invited, in 1639, to preserve a neutrality between the contending parties, while the French and Dutch should attack the maritime towns of Flanders. But the king replied to d'Estrades, the French ambassador, who opened the proposal, that he had a squadron ready, and would cross the seas, if necessary, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in order to prevent these projected conquests. This answer irritated cardinal Richelieu; and in revenge, that minister, carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the covenanters with money and arms, in order to encourage them in their opposition against their sovereign. But the chief resource of the Scottish malcontents was in themselves, and in their own vigour and abilities. The whole kingdom was in a manner engaged; and the men of greatest abilities soon acquired the ascendant, which their family interest enabled them to maintain. the earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize,

had at last embraced the covenant; and he became the chief leader of that party. The earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Lothian; the lords Lindesey, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, distinguished themselves in that party. Many Scotch officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. The command was entrusted to Lilly, a soldier of experience and abilities. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined, arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles which belonged to the king, being unprovided with victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized. And the whole country, except a small part, where the marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the covenanters, was in a very little time put in a tolerable posture of defence. The fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity‡.

Charles had agreed to reduce episcopal authority so much, that it would no longer have been of any service to support the crown; and this sacrifice of his own interests he was willing to make, in order to attain public peace and tranquillity. But he could not consent entirely to abolish an order, which he thought as essential to the being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. So great was his aversion to violent and sanguinary measures, and so strong his affection to his native kingdom, that it is probable the contest in his breast would be nearly equal between these laudable passions, and his attachment to the hierarchy. By regular œconomy, he had not only paid all the debts contracted during the Spanish and French wars, but had amassed a sum of two hundred thousand pounds, which he reserved for any sudden exigency. His fleet was formidable and well supplied. Having put five thousand land-forces on board, he entrusted it to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Frith of Forth, and to cause a diversion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was levied of near twenty thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, and was put under the command of the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but celebrated neither for military nor political abilities. The earl of Essex, a man of strict honour, and extremely popular, especially among the soldiery, was appointed lieutenant-general: the earl of Holland was general of the horse. The king himself joined the army on the 29th of May, and he summoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court, rather than of a military armament; and in this situation, carrying more shew than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwick. The Scottish army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers had more reputation and experience; and the soldiers, though undisciplined and ill-armed, were animated as well by the natural aversion to England, and dread of becoming a province to their old enemy, as by an unsurmountable fervour of religion. The pulpits had extremely assisted the officers in levying recruits, and had thundered out anathemas against all these "who went not out to assist the Lord against the mighty." Yet so prudent were the leaders of the malcontents, that they immediately sent submissive messages to the king, and craved to be admitted to a treaty. Charles knew that the force of the covenanters was considerable, their spirits high, their zeal furious; and that, as they were not yet daunted by any ill success, no rea-

\* A presbytery in Scotland is an inferior ecclesiastical court, similar to that which was afterwards called a Classis in England, and is composed of the clergy of the neighbouring parishes to the number commonly of between twelve and twenty.

† A firm determination had been entered into, of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing,

and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers.

‡ Besides the inferior sort, and those who laboured for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hand to the work, and deemed the most abject employment to be dignified by the sanctity of the cause. Women too, of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the lowest rabble; and carried on their shoulders the rubbish requisite for completing the fortifications. Guthry's Memoirs.



sonable terms could be expected from them. With regard therefore to a treaty, great difficulties occurred on both sides. The king was now in a disagreeable situation: whatever resolution he might take he knew must be dangerous: and, therefore, he concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within eight and forty hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him; his authority be acknowledged, and a general assembly and a parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences. The assembly, when it met, paid no deference to the king's prepossessions, but gave full indulgence to their own. They voted on the 17th of August, episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland; and the king was willing to allow it contrary to the constitutions of that church. They stigmatized the liturgy and canons as popish: he agreed simply to abolish them. They denominated the high commission, tyranny: he was content to set it aside. The parliament which sat after the assembly advanced pretensions, which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and, what probably affected Charles still more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when, by the king's instructions, Traquair, the commissioner, prorogued them. And on account of these claims, which might have been foreseen, was the war renewed; with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king.

Charles had no sooner concluded the pacification without conditions, than the necessity of his affairs and his want of money obliged him to disband his army; and as the soldiers had been held together solely by mercenary views, it was not possible without great trouble and expence, and loss of time, again to assemble them. The more prudent covenanters had concluded, that their pretensions being so contrary to the interests, and still more to the inclinations of the king, it was likely that they should again be obliged to support their cause by arms; and they were therefore careful in dismissing their troops, to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacific disposition. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion: and the religious zeal which animated all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their standards as soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual leaders. The credit which in their last expedition they had acquired, by obliging their sovereign to depart from all his pretensions, gave courage to every one in undertaking this new enterprize. The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army in the spring of 1640; but soon discovered, that all savings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenue would be insufficient to support them. An English parliament, therefore, formerly so unkind and untractable, must now, after above eleven years intermission, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied disgusts given to the puritannical party, be summoned to assemble, amidst the most pressing necessities of the crown. As the king resolved to try, whether this house of commons would be more compliant than their predecessors, and grant him supply on any reasonable terms, the time appointed for the meeting of parliament was late, and very near the time allotted for opening the campaign against the Scots. The earl of Traquair had intercepted a letter written to the king of France by the Scottish malcontents; and had conveyed this letter to the king. Charles, partly repenting at the large concessions made to the Scots, partly disgusted at their fresh insolence and pretensions, seized this opportunity of breaking with them. He had thrown into the Tower lord Loudon, commissioner for the covenanters; one of the persons who had signed the treasonable letter. And he now laid the matter before the parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the resentment, and alarm by the danger, of this application to a foreign power. By the mouth of the lord-keeper,

Finch, he discovered his wants, and informed them that he had been able to assemble his army, and to subsist them, not by any revenue which he possessed, but by means of a large debt, above three hundred thousand pounds, which he had contracted, and for which he had given security upon the crown lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments: that the season was far advanced, the time precious, and none of it must be lost in deliberation.

However plausible the arguments made use of by the lord-keeper, they made small impression on the house of commons. By some illegal, and several suspicious measures of the crown, and by the courageous oppositions which particular persons, amidst dangers and hardships, had made to them; the minds of men, throughout the nation, had taken such a turn as to ascribe every honour to the opposers of the king and the ministers. The present house of commons, being entirely composed of country gentlemen, who came into parliament with all their native prejudices about them, and whom the crown had no means of influencing, could not fail to contain a majority of these patriots.

The members of the house of commons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances; and a speech which Pym made them on that subject, was much more hearkened to, than that which the lord-keeper had delivered to them in the name of their sovereign. The house began with examining the behaviour of the speaker the last day of the former parliament; when he refused, on account of the king's command, to put the question: and they declared it a breach of privilege. They proceeded next to enquire into the imprisonment and prosecution of Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine: the affair of ship-money was canvassed: and plentiful subjects of enquiry were suggested on all hands. Grievances were regularly classed under three heads; those with regard to privileges of parliament, to the property of the subject, and to religion. The king, seeing a large and inexhaustible field opened, pressed them again for supply; and finding his message ineffectual, he came to the house of peers, and desired their good offices with the commons. The peers were sensible of the king's urgent necessities; and thought that supply, on this occasion, ought, both in reason and in decency, to go before grievances. They ventured to represent their sense of the matter to the commons; but their intercession did harm. The commons had always claimed, as their peculiar province, the granting of supplies; and, though the peers had here gone no farther than offering advice, the lower house immediately thought proper to vote so unprecedented an interposition to be a breach of privilege. Charles, in order to bring the matter of supply to some issue, solicited the house by new messages: and finding that ship-money gave great alarm and disgust, besides informing them, that he never intended to make a constant revenue of it, that all the money levied had been regularly, with other great sums, expended on equipping the navy; he now went so far as to offer them a total abolition of that noxious claim, by any law which the commons should think proper to present to him. In return, he only asked, for his necessities, a supply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand pounds, and that payable in three years; but, at the same time, he let them know, that, considering the situation of his affairs, a delay would be equivalent to a denial. The king, though the majority was against him, never had more friends in any house of commons; and the debate was carried on for two days, with great zeal and warmth on both sides. The reasons urged by the popular party seemed to sway with the greater number: and to make the matter worse, Sir Harry Vane, the secretary, told the commons, without any authority from the king, that nothing less than twelve subsidies would be accepted as a compensation for the abolition of ship-money. This assertion, proceeding from the indiscretion, if we are



not rather to call it the treachery, of Vane, displeased the house, by shewing a stiffness and rigidity in the king, which, in a claim so ill-grounded, was deemed inexcusable. We are informed likewise, that some men, who are thought to understand the state of the nation, affirmed in the house, that the amount of twelve subsidies was a greater sum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of those times, with regard to taxes! The king was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw that his friends in the house were out-numbered by his enemies, and that the same councils were still prevalent, which had ever bred such opposition and disturbance. Instead of hoping that any supply would be granted him, to carry on war against the Scots, whom the majority of the house regarded as their best friends and firmest allies; he expected every day, that they would present him an address for making peace with these rebels. And if the house met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly pass, to blast his revenue of ship-money; and thereby renew all the opposition, which, with so much difficulty, he had surmounted, in levying that taxation. Finding nothing was to be obtained from them, the king finished the session by a dissolution.

An abrupt and violent dissolution naturally excites discontents among the people, who usually put entire confidence in their representatives, and expect from them the redress of all grievances. As if there were not already sufficient grounds of complaint, the king persevered still in those councils, which, from experience, he might have been sensible were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and Sir John Hotham were summoned before the council; and refusing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were committed to prison. All the petitions and complaints, which had been sent to the committee of religion, were demanded for Crew, chairman of that committee; and on his refusal to deliver them he was sent to the Tower. The studies, and even the pockets, of the earl of Warwick and lord Broke, before the expiration of privilege, were searched, in expectation of finding treasonable papers. These acts of authority were interpreted, with some appearance of reason, to be invasions on the right of national assemblies. But the king, after the first provocation which he met with, never sufficiently respected the privileges of parliament; and by his example, he farther confirmed their resolution, when they should acquire power, to pay like disregard to the prerogatives of the crown. Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation was still allowed to sit; a practice of which, since the reformation, there were but few instances\*, and which was for that reason supposed by many to be irregular. Besides granting to the king a supply from the spirituality, and framing many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with those which had taken place in Scotland, imposed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the universities; by which every one swore to maintain the established government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c. These steps, in the present discontented humour of the nation, were commonly deemed illegal; because not ratified by consent of parliament, in whom all authority was now supposed to be centered. And nothing, besides, could afford a greater subject of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an *et cetera* in the midst of it †.

The people, who generally abhorred the convocation

as much as they revered the parliament, could scarcely be restrained from insulting and abusing this assembly; and the king was obliged to give them guards, in order to protect them. An attack too was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above five hundred persons; and he found it necessary to fortify himself for his defence. A multitude, consisting of two thousand sectaries, entered St. Paul's, where the high commission then sat; tore down the benches; and cried out, "No bishop, no high commission." All these instances of discontent were presages of some great revolution, had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it. In this disposition of men's minds, it was in vain that the king issued a declaration, in order to convince his people of the necessity, which he lay under, of dissolving the last parliament. The chief topic on which he insisted, was, that the commons imitated the bad example of all their predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in censuring his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his standing revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors, and totally incompatible with monarchy.

The king, disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, was obliged to have recourse to other expedients, in order to supply his urgent necessities. The ecclesiastical subsidies served in some stead; and it seemed but just, that the clergy should contribute to a war, which was in a great measure of their own raising. He borrowed money from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he beloved among them, that above three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in a few days. Some attempts were made towards forcing a loan from the citizens; but still repelled by the spirit of liberty, which was now become unconquerable. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct-money for the soldiery was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East-India company upon trust, and sold, at a great discount, for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money. Such were the extremities to which Charles was reduced. The fresh difficulties which, amidst the present distresses, were every day raised, with regard to the payment of ship-money, obliged them to exert continual acts of authority, augmented the discontents of the people, and increased his indigence and necessities. The present expedients, however, enabled the king, though with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of nineteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general: the earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general: lord Conway, general of the horse. A small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition.

So great are the effects of zeal and unanimity, that the Scottish army, though somewhat superior, were

\* There was one in 1586. See History of Archbishop Laud, p. 80. The authority of the convocation was indeed, in most respects, independent of the parliament, and there was no reason, which required the one to be resolved upon the dissolution of the other.

† The following is the form of the oath: "I A. B. do swear, that I approve the doctrine and discipline, or government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation: and that I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established: nor

will I ever give my consent to alter the government of the church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and innovations of the see of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense, and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the face of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ."



sooner ready than the king's; and they marched to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, besides their general knowledge of the secret discontents of that kingdom, lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of six noblemen, the most considerable of England, by which the Scots were invited to assist their neighbours, in procuring a redress of grievances. Notwithstanding these warlike preparations and hostile attempts, the covenanters still preserved the most pathetic and most submissive language; they entered England on the 20th of August, and said, that it was done with no other view, than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, they were opposed by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots first entreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from the field\*. Such a panic seized the whole English army, that the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire. The Scots took possession of Newcastle; and though sufficiently elated with their victory, they preserved exact discipline, and persevered in their resolution of paying for every thing, in order still to maintain the appearance of an amicable correspondence with England. They also dispatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York; and they took care, after the advantage which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and they even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory.

In order to prevent the advance of the Scots upon him, the king agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon†. An address arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; the great point to which all men's projects at this time tended. Twelve noblemen presented a petition to the same purpose. But the king contented himself with summoning a great council of the peers at York; a measure which had formerly been taken in cases of sudden emergency, but which, at present, could serve to little service.

By Northumberland's sickness the command of the army had devolved on Strafford. This nobleman possessed more vigour of mind than the king or any of the council. He advised Charles rather to put all to hazard, than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him. The loss sustained at Newburn, he said, was inconsiderable; and though a panic had for the time seized the army, that event was nothing strange among new levied troops; and the Scots being in the same condition, would, no doubt, be liable, in their turn, to a like accident. His opinion therefore was, that the king should push forward, and attack the Scots, and bring the affair to a quick decision; and if he were ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befall him, than what, from his inactivity, he would certainly be exposed to. To shew how easy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an assault to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and he gained an advantage over them. No cessation of arms had as yet been agreed to during the treaty at Rippon; yet great clamour prevailed, on account of this act of hostility. And when it was known that the officer who conducted the attack was a papist, a violent outcry was raised against the king, for employing that hated sect in the murder of his protestant subjects.

Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent,

at last determined to yield to it: and as he foresaw that the great council of the peers would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech, that he had already taken this resolution. He informed them likewise, that the queen, in a letter which she had written to him, had very earnestly recommended that measure. This prince, who was extremely attached to his comfort, and who passionately wished to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amidst all his distress, the interests of his domestic tenderness. In order to subsist both armies, (for the king was obliged, in order to save the northern counties, to pay his enemies,) Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of two hundred thousand pounds. And the peers at York, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, joined in the same request. So low was this prince already fallen in the eyes of his own subjects. As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scots, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: a proposal willingly embraced by that nation, who were now sure of treating with advantage, in a place where the king, they foresaw, would be in a manner a prisoner, in the midst of his implacable enemies, and their determined friends.

The causes of disgust which, for above thirty years, had daily been multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great revolution or convulsion: and the uncertain and undefined limits of prerogative and privilege had been eagerly disputed during that whole period; and in every controversy between prince and people, the question, however doubtful, had always been decided by each party in favour of its own pretensions. The progress of the Scottish malcontents reduced the crown to an entire dependence for supply: their union with the popular party in England brought great accession of authority to the latter: the near prospect of success roused all latent murmurs and pretensions which had hitherto been held in such violent constraint: and the torrent of general inclination and opinion ran so strongly against the court, that the king was in no situation to refuse any reasonable demands of the popular leaders, either for defining or limiting the powers of his prerogative. Even many exorbitant claims, in his present situation, would probably be made, and must necessarily be complied with. The triumph of the malcontents over the church was not yet so immediate or certain. Though the political and religious puritans mutually lent assistance to each other, there were many who joined the former, yet declined all connections with the latter. The hierarchy had been established in England ever since the reformation; the Romish church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of ecclesiastical government; and though party may seem at first to have had place among Christian pastors, the period during which it prevailed was so short, that few undisputed traces of it remained in history. The bishops and their more zealous partizans inferred thence the divine indefeasable right of prelacy: others regarded that institution as venerable and useful: and if some chose to adopt the new rites and discipline of the puritans, the reverence to antiquity retained many in their attachment to the liturgy and government of the church. It behoved, therefore, the zealous innovators in parliament to proceed with some caution and reserve. By promoting all measures which reduced the powers of the crown, they hoped to disarm the king, whom they regarded as the determined patron of the hierarchy. By declaiming against the supposed encroachments and tyranny of the prelates, they endeavoured to carry the nation, from a hatred of their persons, to an opposition against their office and character. And when men were enlisted in party, it would not be difficult, they thought,

\* This rout happened on the 28th of the same month.

† The earls of Hertford, Bedford, Salisbury, Warwick, Essex, Holland, Bristol, and Berkshire; the lords Kimbolton, Wharton, Dunsmore, Pager, Broke, Saville, Paulet, and

Howard of Effric, were chosen by the king; all of them popular men, and consequently supposed no wise averse to the Scottish invasion, or unacceptable to that nation.



to lead them by degrees into many measures, for which they formerly entertained the greatest aversion. Though the new sectaries composed not, at first, the majority of the nation, they were inflamed, as is usual among innovators, with extreme zeal for their opinions. Their holy fervours, were well qualified to make proselytes. When the nation, therefore, was so generally discontented, and little suspicion was entertained of any design to subvert the church and monarchy; no wonder that almost all elections ran in favour of those who, by their high pretensions to piety and patriotism, had encouraged the national prejudices. It is a usual compliment to regard the king's inclination to the choice of a speaker; and Charles had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important trust: but so little interest did the crown at that time possess in the nation, that Gardiner was disappointed of his election, not only in London, but in every other place where it was attempted: and the king was obliged to make the choice of speaker fall on Lenthall, a lawyer of some character.

The eager expectations of men with regard to a parliament, summoned at so critical a juncture, and during such general discontents; a parliament which, from the situation of public affairs, could not be abruptly dissolved, and which was to execute every thing left unfinished by former parliaments; these motives, so important and interesting, engaged the attendance of all the members; and the house of commons was never observed to be, from the beginning, so full and numerous, as it was on the day of their meeting, November 3, 1640\*. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business, and, by unanimous consent, they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive. The earl of Strafford was considered as chief minister, both on account of the credit which he possessed with his master, and of his own great and uncommon vigour and capacity. By a concurrence of accidents, this man laboured under the severe hatred of all the three nations which composed the British monarchy. The universal discontent which prevailed in England against the court, was all pointed towards the earl of Strafford; though without any particular reason, but because he was the minister of state whom the king most favoured and most trusted. His extraction was honourable, his paternal fortune considerable: yet envy attended his sudden and great elevation; and his former associates in popular counsels, finding that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, represented him as the great apostate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to sacrifice as a victim to public justice. Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and he begged the king's permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire; where many opportunities, he hoped, would offer, by reason of his distance, to elude the attacks of his enemies. But Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical session which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of his appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, the king, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament. No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the house of commons. Pym, in a long, studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner, enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and, from a complication of such oppressions, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing entirely the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "Could any thing, he said, increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution had been endangered by the worst of

ministers, and that the virtues of the king had been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsels. We must enquire, added he, from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and though doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet is there one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprize, and capacity, is entitled to the first place among these betrayers of their country. He is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces where he had been entrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear from a survey of his actions to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counsel. Some instances of imperious expressions, as well as actions, were given by Pym; who afterwards entered into a more personal attack of that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manners. The austere genius of Strafford, occupied in the pursuits of ambition, had not rendered his breast altogether inaccessible to the tender passions, or secured him from the dominion of the fair; and in that sullen age, when the irregularities of pleasure were more reproachful than the most odious crimes, these weaknesses were thought worthy of being mentioned, together with his treasons, before so great an assembly. And, upon the whole, the orator concluded, that it belonged to the house to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs justly to be apprehended from the influence which this man had acquired over the measures and counsels of their sovereign."

Sir John Clotworthy, an Irish gentleman; Sir John Hotham, of Yorkshire; and many others, entered into the same topics; and, after several hours spent in bitter invective, when the doors were locked in order to prevent all discovery of their purpose; it was moved in consequence of the resolution secretly taken, that Strafford should immediately be impeached of high-treason. This motion was received with universal approbation; nor was there, in all the debate, one person that offered to stop the torrent by any testimony in favour of the earl's conduct. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, modestly desired the house to consider, whether it would not better suit the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest by a committee many of those particulars which had been mentioned, before they sent up an accusation against him. It was ingeniously answered by Pym, that such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed any farther in the prosecution; that when Strafford should learn, that so many of his enormities were discovered, his conscience would dictate his condemnation; and so great his power and credit, he would immediately procure the dissolution of the parliament, or attempt some other desperate measure for his own preservation: that the commons were only accusers, not judges; and it was the province of the peers to determine, whether such a complication of enormous crimes, in one person, did not amount to the highest crime known by the law. Without farther debate, the impeachment was voted: Pym was chosen to carry it up to the lords: most of the house accompanied him on so agreeable an errand: and Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, and who little expected so speedy a prosecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into custody, with several symptoms of violent prejudice in his judges, as well as his prosecutors.

In the enquiry concerning grievances and in the censure of past measures, Laud could not long escape the severe scrutiny of the commons; who were led too, in their accusation of that prelate, as well by their prejudices against his whole order, as by the extreme antipathy which his intemperate zeal had drawn upon him. After a deliberation, which scarcely lasted half an hour, an impeachment of high-treason was voted against this subject, the first, both in rank and in favour, throughout the kingdom. Though this incident needed be no

surprise



surprize to him; yet was he betrayed into some passion, when the accusation was presented. "The commons themselves, he said, though his accusers, did not believe him guilty of the crimes with which they charged him." An indiscretion which next day, upon more mature deliberation, he desired leave to retract; but so little favourable were the peers, that they refused him this advantage or indulgence. Laud also was immediately, upon this general charge, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody.

The grand article insisted on against these two great men, was, the design which the commons supposed to have been formed of subverting the laws and constitution of England, and introducing arbitrary and unlimited authority into the kingdom. But of all the king's ministers, no one was more noxious in this respect than the lord-keeper Finch. He it was, who, being speaker in the king's third parliament, had left the chair, and refused to put the question when ordered by the house. To appease the rising displeasure of the commons, he desired to be heard at their bar. He prostrated himself with all humility before them; but this submission availed him nothing. An impeachment was resolved on; and in order to escape their fury, he thought proper secretly to withdraw, and retire into Holland. As he was not esteemed equal to Strafford, or even to Laud, either in capacity or in fidelity to his master, it was generally believed that his escape had been connived at by the popular leaders. His impeachment, however, in his absence, was carried up to the house of peers. Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, was a creature of Laud's; a sufficient reason for his being hated by the commons. He was secretly suspected too of being a papist; and Grimstone, a popular member, called him, in the house, the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon. Finding that the scrutiny of the commons was pointing towards him, and being sensible that England was no longer a place of safety for men of his character, he suddenly made his escape into France. Thus, in a few weeks, this house of commons, not opposed by the peers, had produced such a revolution in the government, that the two most powerful and most favoured ministers of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life: two other ministers had, by flight alone, saved themselves from a like fate: all the king's servants saw that no protection could be given them by their master: a new jurisdiction was erected in the nation; and before that tribunal all those trembled, who had before exulted most in their credit and authority. What rendered the power of the commons more formidable was, the extreme prudence with which it was conducted. Not content with the authority which they had acquired by attacking these great ministers, they were resolved to render the most considerable bodies of the nation obnoxious to them. Though the idol of the people, they determined to fortify themselves likewise with terrors, and to over-awe those who might still be inclined to support the falling ruins of monarchy. During the late military operations, several powers had been exercised by the lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of counties: and these powers, though necessary for the defence of the nation, and even warranted by all former precedent, yet not being authorized by statute, were now voted to be illegal; and the persons who had assumed them, declared *delinquents*. They disarmed the crown as it were; they established the maxims of rigid law and liberty; and they spread the terror of their own authority.

The writs for ship-money had been directed to the sheriffs, who were required, and even obliged, under severe penalties, to assess the sums upon individuals, and to levy them by their authority: yet were all the sheriffs, and all those who had been employed in that illegal service, voted, by a very rigorous sentence, to be *delinquents*. The king, by the maxims of law, could do no wrong: his ministers and servants, of whatever degree, in case of any violation of the constitution, were alone culpable. All the farmers and officers of the customs,

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who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, and the new impositions, were likewise declared criminals, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high-commission courts, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had concurred in such sentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. The judges who had given their vote against Hamden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find surety for their appearance: Berkeley, a judge of the king's bench, was seized by order of the house, even when sitting in his tribunal; and all men saw with astonishment the irresistible authority of their jurisdiction. The sanction of the lords and commons, as that of the king, was declared necessary for the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons. But the present was no time for question or dispute. That decision, which abolished all legislative power except that of parliament, was requisite for completing the new plan of liberty, and rendering it quite uniform and systematical. Almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convocation, found themselves exposed by these new principles to the imputation of delinquency.

The most unpopular of all Charles's measures, and the least justifiable, was the revival of monopolies, so solemnly abolished, after reiterated endeavours, by a recent act of parliament. Sensible of this unhappy measure, the king had of himself recalled, during the time of his first expedition against Scotland, many of these oppressive patents; and the rest were now annulled by authority of parliament, and every one who was concerned in them declared delinquents. The commons carried so far their detestation of this odious measure, that they assumed a power which had formerly been seldom practised, and they expelled all their members who were monopolists or projectors\*. In all questions indeed of elections, no steady rule of decision was observed; and nothing farther was regarded than the affections and attachments of the parties. The whole sovereign power being thus in a manner transferred to the commons, the popular leaders seemed willing for some time to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, before they proceeded to any violent exercise of it. Every day produced some new harangue on past grievances.

This was the time, says Hume, when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated the sagacity of Pym, more fitted for use than ornament; matured, not chilled by his advanced age and long experience: then was displayed the mighty ambition of Hamden, taught disguise, not moderation, from former constraint; supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty; but whether founded in a love of power or zeal for liberty, is still, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain: then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous spirit of Hollis, violent and sincere, open and entire in his enmities and in his friendships; the enthusiastic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends which he pursued, sagacious and profound in the means which he employed; incited by the appearances of religion, and negligent of the duties of morality.

By the daily harangues against usurpations, not only the house of commons inflamed themselves with the highest animosity against the court: the nation caught new fire from the popular leaders, and seemed now to have made the first discovery of the many supposed disorders in the government. The metropolis especially, being the seat of parliament, was highly animated with the spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction. Tumults were daily raised; seditious assemblies encouraged; and every man neglecting his own business was wholly intent on

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\* Mildmay, a monopolist, yet having associated himself with the ruling party, was still allowed to keep his seat.



the defence of liberty and religion. By stronger contagion, the popular affections were communicated from breast to breast, in this place of general rendezvous and society. The harangues of members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with invectives against grievances and zeal for liberty. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions, which disseminated the love of liberty, and which enjoined the people to assert their rights. The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, now suffered a revival from parliament. These men, far from being tamed by the rigorous punishments which they had undergone, shewed still a disposition of repeating their offence; and the ministers were afraid lest new satires should issue from their prisons, and still farther inflame the prevailing discontents. By an order, therefore, of council, they had been carried to remote prisons; Bastwick, to Scilly, Prynne, to Jersey, and Burton, to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink, and paper, was refused them. The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons: even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal: and the judges that passed it were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers\*. Lilburne, Leighton, and every one that had been punished for seditious libels during the preceding administration, now recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages from the judges and ministers of justice. Not only the present disposition of the nation ensured impunity to all libellers: a new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of popular discontent. Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints which they contained. So many grievances were offered, both by the members, and by petitions without-doors, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged, each of them, with the examination of some particular violation of law and liberty, which had been complained of†.

From the reports of their committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, and inflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hamden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions for knighthood stigmatized; the enlargement of the forests condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late measure of administration treated with reproach and obloquy. To-day, a sentence of the star-chamber was exclaimed against: to-morrow, a decree of the high-commission. Every act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was still inculcated, that a formed design had been laid to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom. From necessity, the king remained entirely passive during all these operations. The few servants, who continued faithful to him, were seized with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their unactive

and inoffensive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those, who, from interest or habit, were most attached to monarchy. And as for those who maintained their duty to the king, merely from their regard to the constitution, they seemed by their concurrence to swell that inundation which began already to deluge every thing. "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles in a discourse to the parliament: "a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire; so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons. The machine they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which retarded and crossed its operations, and destroyed its utility.

As soon as the Scots were masters of the northern counties, they laid aside their first professions, of paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the destructive expedient of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, in full of their subsistence. The parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burden, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies‡, a very small sum, were at first voted; and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, had supported public credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by parliament. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection in which he was now held: the commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders, till all their own enemies should be suppressed, and all their purposes effected. "We cannot yet spare the Scots," said Strode plainly in the house; "the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us." Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies: a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge; the commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontents in England, were courted with the utmost complaisance. The king having, in his first speech, called them rebels, observed, that he had given offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even retract the expression. The Scottish commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely dissatisfied, as with the popular leaders in both houses§. The most effectual expedient for

\* When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended by a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, all the inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased, as they drew nigh to London. Some miles from the city, the zealots of their party met them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphant entrance: boughs were carried

in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strewed with flowers; and amidst the highest exultations of joy, were intermingled loud and virulent invectives against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages.

† Besides the general committees of religion, trade, privileges, laws; many subdivisions of these were framed, and a strict scrutiny was every where carried on.

‡ It appears that a subsidy was now fallen to fifty thousand pounds.

§ St. Antholine's church was assigned them for their devotions.



paying court to the zealous Scots was to promote the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to this innovation the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their more devoted partizans, were, of themselves, sufficiently inclined. The puritannical party, whose progress, though secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make attacks on the established religion. The prevalence of that sect in the parliament discovered itself from the beginning, by insensible but decisive symptoms\*. It being the custom of the house always to take the sacrament before they entered upon business, they ordered, as a necessary preliminary, that the communion table should be removed from the east end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area. The name of the spiritual lords was commonly left out in acts of parliament; and the laws ran in the name of king, lords, and commons. Every meeting of the commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high-commission, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgusted were all lovers of civil liberty at the doctrines promoted by the clergy, that these invectives were received without control; and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and such as pretended totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious priesthood was commonly applied to all churchmen, addicted to the established discipline and worship; though the episcopal clergy in England, during that age, seem to have been, as they are at present, sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of religion, and pretended to be signed by many hundreds of the puritannical persuasion. But what made most noise was, the city petition for a total alteration of church-government; a petition to which fifteen thousand subscriptions were annexed, and which was presented by alderman Pennington, the city member†. Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the people, the leaders in the house resolved to proceed with caution. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. As a consequence, the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers. But when this bill was presented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority. Among other acts of regal executive power, which the commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, and crucifixes. The bishop of Ely and other clergymen were attacked on account of innovations. Cozens, who had long been hateful in their eyes, was exposed to new censures. This clergyman, who was dean of Peterborough, was extremely zealous for ecclesiastical ceremonies; and so far from permitting the communicants to break the sacramental bread with their fingers, a privilege on which the puritans strenuously insisted, he would not so much as allow it to be cut with an ordinary household instrument. A consecrated knife must perform that sacred office, and must never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar service. Cozens likewise was accused of having said, "The king has no more authority in ecclesiastical matters, than the boy who rubs my horse's heels." A committee was elected by the lower house, as a court of

inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of scandalous ministers. The proceedings, therefore, of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc both on the church and the universities. They began with harrassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy; and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them. In order to join contumely to cruelty, they gave the sufferers the epithet of scandalous, and endeavoured to render them odious as they were miserable.

The laws, as they now stood, protected the church, but exposed the catholics to the rage of the puritans; and these unhappy religionists, so hateful to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain long unmolested. The voluntary contribution which they had made, in order to assist the king in his war against the Scottish covenanters, was inquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity. By an address from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the king for seizing two-thirds of the lands of recusants; a proportion to which, by law, he was entitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess upon easy compositions. The execution of the severe and sanguinary laws against priests was insisted on: and one Goodman, a jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles, however, agreeably to his usual principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expressed great resentment on the occasion‡.

The queen-mother of France, Mary of Medicis, having been forced into banishment by some court-intrigue, had retired into England; and expected shelter, amidst her present distresses, in the dominions of her daughter and son-in-law. But though she behaved in the most inoffensive manner, she was insulted by the populace on account of her religion; and was even threatened with worse treatment. The earl of Holland, lieutenant of Middlesex, had ordered a hundred musqueteers to guard her; but finding that they had imbibed the same prejudices with the rest of their countrymen, and were unwillingly employed in such a service, he laid the case before the house of peers; for the king's authority was now entirely annihilated. He represented, among other things, the indignity of the action, that so great a princess, mother to the king of France, and to the queen of Spain and England, should be affronted by the multitude. The peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the commons, whose authority over the people was absolute. The commons agreed to the necessity of protecting the queen-mother; but at the same time prayed, that she might be desired to depart the kingdom: "for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well-affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about that queen's person, by the flowing of priests and papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass, and exercise of other superstitious services of the Romish church, to the great scandal of true religion."

Charles, in the former part of his reign, had endeavoured to overcome the intractable and encroaching spirit of the commons, by a perseverance in his own measures, by a stately dignity of behaviour, and by maintaining, at their utmost height, the rights of his prerogative. Finding how unsuccessful those measures had proved, and observing the low condition to which

tions; and their chaplains here, began openly to practise the presbyterian form of worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration.

\* Marshal and Burgess, two puritannical clergymen, were chosen to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length.

† It is remarkable that, among the many ecclesiastical abuses there complained of, an allowance, given by the licencers

of books, to publish a translation of Ovid's Art of Love, is not forgotten by these rustic censors.

‡ There remains a singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the king and his people. He escaped with his life; but it seems more probable that he was overlooked amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and generosity.



he was now reduced, he resolved to alter his whole conduct, and to regain the confidence of his people, by plianeness, by concessions, and by a total conformity to their inclinations and prejudices. It may safely be averred, that this new extreme into which the king, for want of proper counsel or support, was fallen, became no less dangerous to the constitution, and pernicious to public peace, than the other, in which he had so long and so unfortunately persevered. The pretensions with regard to tonnage and poundage were revived, and with certain assurance of success by the commons. In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, by which the commons granted these duties to the king, they took care, in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift; and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and subjection of the king, they voted these duties only for two months; and afterwards, from time to time, renewed their grant for very short periods\*. Charles, in order to shew that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his parliament, passed this important bill without any scruple or hesitation.

With regard to the bill for triennial parliaments, he made a little difficulty. By an old statute passed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently, if necessary: but as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for execution, this statute had been considered merely as a general declaration, and was dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the 3d of September in every third year, any twelve or more of the peers should be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters; and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days†. Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, at last gave assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation in the constitution. Solemn thanks were presented him by both houses. Great rejoicings were expressed both in the city and throughout the nation. And mighty professions were every-where made of gratitude and mutual returns of supply and confidence.

Charles thought, that what concessions were made to the public were of little consequence, if no gratifications were bestowed on individuals, who had acquired the direction of public counsels and determinations. A change of ministers as well as of measures was therefore resolved on. In one day several new privy-counsellors were sworn; the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, and Bristol; the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton: within a few days after was admitted the earl of Warwick. All these noblemen were of the popular party; and some of them afterwards, when matters were pushed to extremities by the commons, proved the greatest support of monarchy.

Juxon, bishop of London, who had never desired the treasurer's staff, now earnestly solicited for leave to

resign it, and retire to the care of that turbulent diocese committed to him. The king gave his consent, and it is remarkable, that during all the severe inquiries carried on against the conduct of ministers and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who bore both these invidious characters, remained unmolested. It was intended that Bedford, a popular man of great authority, as well as wisdom and moderation, should succeed Juxon: but that nobleman, unfortunately both for king and people, died about this time. By some promotions, place was made for St. John, who was created solicitor-general. Hollis was to be made secretary of state, in the room of Windebank, who had fled: Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had resigned: lord Say, master of the wards, in the room of the same nobleman: the earl of Essex, governor; and Hamden, tutor to the prince. What retarded the execution of these projected changes was, the difficulty of satisfying all those who, from their activity and authority in parliament, had pretensions for offices, and who still had it in their power to embarrass and distress the public measures. On all occasions they had no other advice to give the king, than to allow himself to be directed by his great council; or, in other words to resign himself passively to their guidance and government. And Charles found, that, instead of acquiring friends by the honours and offices which he should bestow, he should only arm his enemies with more power to hurt him. The end on which the king was most intent in changing ministers was, to save the life of the earl of Strafford, and to mollify, by their indulgences, the rage of his most furious prosecutors. But so high was that nobleman's reputation for experience and capacity, that all the new counsellors and intended ministers plainly saw, that, if he escaped their vengeance, he must return into favour and authority; and they regarded his death as the only security which they could have, both for the establishment of their present power, and for success in their future enterprises. His impeachment, therefore, was pushed on with the utmost vigour; and after long and solemn preparations, was brought to a final issue.

Immediately after Strafford was sequestered from parliament, and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen was chosen by the lower house, and entrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. These, joined to a small committee of lords, were vested with authority to examine all witnesses, to call for every paper, and to use any means of scrutiny, with regard to any part of the earl's behaviour and conduct. After so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies; a man must have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his life, some matter of accusation against him. This committee, by direction from both houses, took an oath of secrecy‡. Sir George Ratcliffe, the earl's intimate friend and confidant, was accused of high-treason, sent for from Ireland, and committed to close custody. As no charge ever appeared or was prosecuted against him, it is impossible to give a more charitable interpretation to this measure, than that the commons thereby intended to deprive Strafford, in his present distress, of the assistance of his best friend, who was most enabled, by his testimony, to justify the innocence of his patron's conduct and behaviour. When intelligence arrived in Ireland of the plans laid for Strafford's ruin, the Irish house of commons, though they had very lately bestowed ample

\* It was an instruction given by the house to the committee which framed one of these bills, to take care that the rates upon exportation may be as light as possible; and upon importation, as heavy as trade will bear; a proof that the nature of commerce began now to be understood. Journ. June 16, 1641.

† By this bill, some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown were retrenched; but at the same time nothing could be more necessary than such a statute, for completing a regular plan of law and liberty.

‡ Application was made to the king, that he would allow this committee to examine privy-counsellors with regard to opinions delivered at the board; a concession which Charles unwarily made, and which thenceforth banished all mutual confidence from the deliberations of council; where every man is supposed to have entire freedom, without fear of future punishment or enquiry, of professing any expedient, questioning any opinion, or supporting any argument.



praises on his administration, entered into all the violent counsels against him, and prepared a representation of the miserable state into which, by his misconduct, they supposed, the kingdom to be fallen. They sent over a committee to London, to assist in the prosecution of their unfortunate governor; and, by intimations from this committee, who entered into close confederacy with the popular leaders in England, was every measure of the Irish parliament governed and directed. Impeachments, which were now prosecuted, were carried up against Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor; Sir Gerard Louthier, chief justice; and Bramhall, bishop of Derry. This step, which was an exact counterpart to the proceedings in England, served also the same purposes; it deprived the king of the ministers whom he most trusted; it discouraged and terrified all the other ministers; and it prevented those persons who were best acquainted with Strafford's counsels from giving evidence in his favour before the English parliament. The bishops, being forbidden by the ancient canons to assist in trials for life, and being unwilling by any opposition to irritate the commons, who were already much prejudiced against them, thought proper, of themselves, to withdraw in the beginning of 1641. The commons also voted, that the new-created peers ought to have no voice in this trial; because the accusation being agreed to while they were commoners, their consent to it was implied with that of all the commons of England\*. An accusation, carried on by the united effort of three kingdoms, against one man, unprotected by power, unassisted by counsel, and discountenanced by authority, was likely to prove a very unequal contest: yet such were the capacity, genius, and presence of mind, displayed by this magnanimous statesman, that while argument and reason and law had any place, he obtained an undisputed victory. And he perished at last, overwhelmed and still unsubdued, by the open violence of his fierce and unrelenting antagonists. The articles of impeachment against Strafford are twenty-eight in number; and regard his conduct, as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as counsellor or commander in England. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, and all Strafford's answers were extemporary, it appears from comparison, not only that he was free from the crime of treason, of which there is not the least appearance, but that his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, exposed to such severe scrutiny, was innocent, and even laudable. Strafford's defence was such as became a man conscious of having committed no fault, but that of obeying the commands of his sovereign, and the dictates of the laws of his country; but this, by his enemies and calumniators, was the greatest crime any one could possibly commit. His apology was, in the main, when pleaded to each particular article, satisfactory and clear; and his victory was still more decisive when he brought the whole together, and repelled the imputation of treason; the crime which the commons would infer from the full view of his conduct and behaviour. Of all species of guilt, the law of England had, with the most scrupulous exactness, defined that of treason; because on that side it was found most necessary to protect the subject against the violence of the king and of his ministers. In the famous statute of Edward III. all the kinds of treason are enumerated, and every other crime, besides such as are there expressly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that appellation. But with regard to this guilt, "An endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws," the statute of treasons is totally silent: and arbitrarily to introduce it into the fatal catalogue, is itself a subversion of all laws; and, under colour of defending liberty, reverts a statute the best calculated for the security of liberty, that had ever been

enacted by an English parliament. As this species of treason, discovered by the commons, is entirely new and unknown to the laws; so is the species of proof by which they pretend to fix that guilt upon the prisoner. They have invented a kind of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in a much inferior degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law. A hasty and unguarded word, a rash and passionate action, assisted by the malevolent fancy of the accuser, and tortured by doubtful constructions, is trans-mitted into the deepest guilt; and the lives and fortunes of the whole nation, no longer protected by justice, are subjected to arbitrary will and pleasure. "Where has this species of guilt lain so long concealed?" said Strafford in conclusion: "Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear till it burst out at once, to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves, the best we can, to the arbitrary will of a master; than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last, that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of till the very moment of the prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages; but, if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? Where the token by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed, under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened. It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were defined; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourselves at home: we have lived gloriously abroad to the world: let us be content with what our fathers have left us: let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence, for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons; as the primitive Christians did the books of curious arts, and betake themselves to the plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it. Let us not to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain for so many ages, by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions, add not this, my lords, the most severe of any; that I, for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. However, these gentlemen at the bar say they speak for the commonwealth: and they believe so: yet, under favour, it is I who, in this particular, speak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like those which are endeavoured to be established against me, must draw alone such inconveniences and miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV.; and no man shall know by what rule to govern his words and actions. Impose not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable. The public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; and no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever

\* To bestow the greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-Hall; where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides the chair  
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of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial.



engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils. My lords, I have now troubled your lordships a great deal longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in Heaven left me, I should be loth"—Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping stopped him—"What I forfeit for myself, it is nothing: but, I confess, that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity: something I should have said; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I shall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit, clearly and freely, to your judgements: and whether that righteous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence\*."

"Certainly," says Whitlocke, with his usual candour, "never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence; with greater reason, judgement, and temper; and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity†." But the death of Strafford was too important a stroke of party to be left unattempted by any expedient, however extraordinary; and preparatory to it, a new proof of the earl's guilt was produced, in order to remove such scruples as might be entertained with regard to a method of proceeding so unusual and irregular. Sir Henry Vane, secretary, had taken some notes of a debate in council, after the dissolution of the last parliament; and being at a distance, he had sent the keys of his cabinet, as was pretended, to his son, Sir Henry, in order to search for some papers, which were necessary for completing a marriage-settlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmost importance; and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the house of commons. The question before the council was: "Offensive or defensive war with the Scots." The king proposes this difficulty, "But how can I undertake offensive war, if I have no more money?" The answer ascribed to Strafford was in these words: "Borrow of the city a hundred thousand pounds: go on vigorously to levy ship-money. Your majesty having tried the affections of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rules of government, and may do what power will admit. Your majesty, having tried all ways, shall be acquitted before God and man. And

you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience: for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months‡." There followed some counsels of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the king's being absolved from all rules of government. The evidence of secretary Vane, though exposed to such unfurmountable objections, was the real cause of Strafford's unhappy fate; and made the bill of attainder pass the commons with no greater opposition than that of fifty-nine dissenting votes. But there remained two other branches of the legislature, the king and the lords, whose assent was requisite; and these, if left to their free judgement, it was easily foreseen, would reject the bill without scruple or deliberation. To overcome this difficulty, the popular leaders employed expedients, for which they were beholden partly to their own industry, partly to the discretion of their adversaries§. Complaints in the house of commons being made against the violences of the populace, committed at the instigation of their leaders, as the most flagrant breach of privilege, the ruling members, by their affected coolness and indifference, shewed plainly that the popular tumults were not disagreeable to them.

About this time, a new discovery was made which served to throw every thing into still greater flame and combustion. Some principal officers, Piercy, Jermyn, O'Neale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, and Ashburnham, partly attached to the court, partly disgusted with the parliament, had formed a plan of engaging into the king's service the English army, whom they observed to be displeased at some marks of preference given by the commons to the Scots. For this purpose they entered into an association, took an oath of secrecy, and kept a close correspondence with some of the king's servants. The form of a petition to the king and parliament was concerted; and it was intended to get this petition subscribed by the army. The petitioners there represent the great and unexampled concessions made by the king for the security of public peace and liberty; the endless demands of certain insatiable and turbulent spirits, whom nothing less will content than a total subversion of the ancient constitution; the frequent tumults which these factious malcontents had excited, and which endangered the liberty of parliament. To prevent these mischiefs, the army offered to come up and guard that assembly. "So shall the nation," as they express themselves in the conclusion, "not only be vindicated from preceding innovations, but be secured from the future, which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former." The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on, somewhat imprudently, to countersign it himself, as a mark of his approbation. But, as several dif-

\* Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 659, &c.

† It is remarkable, that the historian, who expresses himself in these terms, was himself chairman of that committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate statesman. The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days. The managers divided the several articles among them, and attacked the prisoner with all the weight of authority, with all the vehemence of rhetoric, with all the accuracy of long preparation. Strafford was obliged to speak with deference and reserve towards his most inveterate enemies, the commons, the Scottish nation, and the Irish parliament. He took only a very short time, on each article, to recollect himself: yet he alone, without assistance, mixing modesty and humility with firmness and vigour, made such a defence, that the commons saw it impossible, by a legal prosecution, ever to obtain a sentence against him. Hume.

‡ This paper, with all the circumstances of its discovery and communication, was pretended to be equivalent to two witnesses, and to an unanswerable proof of those pernicious counsels of Strafford, which tended to the subversion of the laws and constitution. It was replied by Strafford and his friends, that old Vane was his most inveterate and declared enemy; and if the secretary himself, as was by far most probable, had willingly delivered to his son this paper of notes, to be communicated to Pym, this implied such a breach of oaths and of trust as rendered him totally unworthy of all credit: that the secretary's disposition was at first exceedingly dubious: up-

on two examinations, he could not remember any such words: even the third time, his testimony was not positive, but imported only that Strafford had spoken such or such-like words: that of six other counsellors present, Laud and Windebank could give no evidence; Northumberland, Hamilton, Cottington, and Juxon, could recollect no such expression; and the advice was too remarkable to be easily forgotten. And that nothing could be more iniquitous, than to extract an accusation of treason from an opinion simply proposed at the council-table, where all freedom of debate ought to be permitted, and where it was not unusual for the members, in order to draw forth the sentiments of others, to propose counsels very remote from their own secret advice and judgement.

§ Next Sunday after the bill was passed the commons, the puritannical pulpits resounded with declamations concerning the necessity of executing justice upon great delinquents. The populace took the alarm. About six thousand men armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the houses of parliament. The names of the fifty-nine commons who had voted against the bill of attainder were posted up under the title of "Straffordians and betrayers of their country." These were exposed to all the insults of the ungovernable multitude. When any of the lords passed, the cry for justice against Strafford resounded in their ears: and such as were suspected of friendship to that now hateful minister, were sure to meet with menaces, not unaccompanied with symptoms of the most desperate resolutions in the furious populace.



sculties occurred, the project was laid aside two months before any public discovery was made of it. It was Goring who betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. The alarm may easily be imagined which this intelligence conveyed. Petitions from the military to the civil power are always looked on as disguised, or rather undisguised commands; and are of a nature widely different from petitions presented by any other rank of men. Pym opened the matter in the house. On the first intimation of a discovery, Piercy concealed himself, and Jermyn withdrew beyond sea. This farther confirmed the suspicion of a dangerous conspiracy. Goring delivered his evidence before the house: Piercy wrote a letter to his brother Northumberland, confessing most of the particulars. Both their testimonies agree with regard to the oath of secrecy; and as this circumstance had been denied by Pollard, Ashburnham, and Wilmot, in all their examinations, it was regarded as a new proof of some desperate resolutions which had been taken. To convey more quickly the terror and indignation at this plot, the commons voted, that a protestation should be signed by all the members. It was sent up to the lords, and signed by all of them, except Southampton and Robarts. Orders were given by the commons alone, without other authority, that it should be subscribed by the whole nation. Alarms were every day given of new conspiracies: in Lancashire, great multitudes of papists were assembling: secret meetings were held by them in caves and under-ground in Surrey: they had entered into a plot to blow up the river with gun-powder, in order to drown the city: provisions of arms were making beyond sea: sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom: and the populace, who are always terrified with present, and enraged with distant dangers, were still farther animated in their demands of justice against the unfortunate Strafford. The king came to the house of lords, and thought he expressed his resolution, for which he offered them any security, never again to employ Strafford in any branch of public business, he professed himself totally dissatisfied with regard to the circumstance of treason, and on that account declared his difficulty in giving his assent to the bill of attainder. The commons took fire, and voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the houses.

About eighty peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such apprehensions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only forty-five were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house. Yet of these, nineteen had the courage to vote against it. A certain proof, that, if entire freedom had been allowed, the bill had been rejected by a great majority\*. After popular violence had prevailed over the lords, the same battery was next applied to force the king's assent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with the loudest clamours and most open menaces. Rumours of conspiracies against the parliament were anew spread abroad: invasions and insurrections talked of: and the whole nation was raised into such a ferment as threatened some great and imminent convulsion. On which-ever side the king cast his eyes, he saw no resource or security. All his servants, consulting their own safety, rather than their master's honour, declined interposing with their advice between him and his parliament. The queen

terrified with the appearance of so mighty a danger, and bearing formerly no good-will to Strafford, was in tears, and pressed him to satisfy his people in this demand, which it was hoped, would finally content them. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, like a true Christian, if in his conscience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it†. After the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill: flattering himself, probably, in this extremity of distress, that, as neither his will consented to the deed, nor was his hand immediately engaged in it, he was the more free from all the guilt which attended it. These commissioners, he empowered, at the same time, to give his assent to the bill which rendered the parliament perpetual.

The commons, from policy, rather than necessity, had embraced the expedient of paying the two armies by borrowing money from the city; and these loans they had repaid afterwards by taxes levied upon the people. The citizens, either of themselves or by suggestion, began to start difficulties with regard to a farther loan which was demanded. "We make no scruple of trusting the parliament, said they, were we certain that the parliament were to continue till our re-payment. But, in the present precarious situation of affairs, what security can be given us for our money?" In pretence of obviating this objection, a bill was suddenly brought into the house, and passed with great unanimity and rapidity, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own consent. It was hurried in like manner through the house of peers, and was instantly carried to the king for his assent. Charles, in the agony of grief, shame, and remorse, for Strafford's doom, perceived not that this bill was of still more fatal consequence to his authority, and rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrollable. In comparison of the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in his friend's murder, this concession made no figure in his eyes: a circumstance which, if it lessen our idea of his resolution or penetration, serves to prove the integrity of his heart and the goodness of his disposition. It is indeed certain, that strong compunction for his consent to Strafford's execution attended this unfortunate prince, during the remainder of his life; and even at his own fatal end, the memory of this guilt, with great sorrow and remorse, recurred upon him. All men were so sensible of the extreme violence which was done him, that he suffered the less both in his character and interest from this unhappy measure; and though he abandoned his best friend, yet was he still able to preserve, in some degree, the attachment of all his adherents. Secretary Carleton was sent by the king to inform Strafford of the final resolution which necessity had extorted from him. The earl seemed surprized, and starting up exclaimed, in these words of Scripture, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." He was soon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared himself to suffer the fatal sentence. Only three days' interval was allowed him. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young prince, a letter addressed to the peers, in which he entreated them to

\* In carrying up the bill to the lords, St. John, the solicitor-general, advanced two topics, well suited to the fury of the times; "That though the testimony against Strafford were not clear, yet, in this way of bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, even should no evidence at all be produced; and that the earl had no title to plead law, because he had broken the law. It is true, added he, we give law to hares and deers; for they are beasts of chase. But it is never accounted either cruel or unfair to destroy foxes or wolves wherever they can be found, for they are beasts of prey."

† Strafford, hearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety,

took a very extraordinary step: he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent life, and to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them the request for which they were so importunate. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do besides. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness, of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so Sir, to you I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness, in the just acknowledgement of your exceeding favours."

confer



confer with the commons about a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, was refused in both requests. Strafford, in passing from his apartment to Tower-Hill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship, and entreated the assistance of his prayers, in those awful moments which were approaching: the aged primate dissolved in tears; and having pronounced, with a broken-voice, a tender blessing on his departing friend, sunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford, still superior in his fate, moved on with an elated countenance, and with an air even of greater dignity than what usually attended him. He wanted that consolation which commonly supports those who perish by the stroke of injustice and oppression: he was not buoyed up by glory, nor by the affectionate compassion of the spectators. Yet his mind, erect and undaunted, found resources within itself, and maintained its unbroken resolution, amidst the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his misguided enemies. His discourse on the scaffold was full of decency and courage. "He feared," he said, "that the omen was bad for the intended reformation of the state, that it commenced with the shedding of innocent blood." Having bid a last adieu to his brother and friends who attended him, and having sent a blessing to his nearer relations who were absent; "And now," said he, "I have nigh done! One stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends! But let God be to you and them all in all!" Going to disrobe, and prepare himself for the block, "I thank God," said he, "that I am no wise afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!" With one blow was a period put to his life by the executioner. Thus perished, in the 49th year of his age, the earl of Strafford, one of the most eminent personages that has appeared in England. Though his death was loudly demanded as a satisfaction to justice, and as an atonement for the many violations of the constitution, it may safely be affirmed, that the sentence by which he fell was an enormity greater than the worst of those which his implacable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry. The first parliament after the restoration reversed the bill of attainder; and even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence: as if conscious of the violence with which the prosecution had been conducted.

In vain did Charles expect, as a return for so many instances of unbounded compliance, that the parliament would at last shew him some indulgence; but the supposed attempt to engage the army against them served with many as a confirmation of their jealousy. The popular leaders, however, having no inclination to come into measures with the king, still insisted, that a desperate plot was laid to bring up the forces immediately, and offer violence to the parliament. By means of these suspicions, was the same implacable spirit still kept alive; and the commons, without giving the king any satisfaction in the settlement of his revenue, proceeded to carry their inroads with great vigour into his now defenceless prerogative. The two ruling passions of this parliament were, zeal for liberty, and an aversion to the church; and to both of these nothing could appear more exceptionable than the court of high-commission, whose institution rendered it entirely arbitrary, and assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. The star-chamber also was a court which exerted high discretionary powers, and had no precise

rule or limit, either with regard to the causes which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions which it formed. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish these two courts; and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles hesitated before he gave his consent: but finding that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he possessed no resource in case of a rupture, he at last affixed the royal sanction to this bill. But to shew the parliament that he was sufficiently apprized of the importance of his grant, he observed to them, that this statute altered in a great measure the fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of his predecessors had established. At the request of the parliament, Charles, instead of the patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour: a circumstance of the greatest moment towards securing their independency, and barring the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of judicature.

The marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was not thought sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished. The star-chamber courts, which exercised jurisdiction, underwent a like fate. The abolition of the council of the north and the council of Wales followed from the same principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general inspection over the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates. In short, if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable parliament, during the first period of its operations, we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweigh their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty: but his death will be an everlasting stigma upon their characters. Not only were former abuses remedied, and grievances redressed: great provisions, for the future, was made by law against the return of like complaints.

The parliament now came to a pause. The king had promised his Scottish subjects, that he would this summer pay them a visit, in order to settle their government; and though the English parliament was very importunate with him, that he should lay aside that journey; they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. As he must necessarily in his journey have passed through the troops of both nations, the commons seem to have entertained great jealousies on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the disbanding of the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scots were fully paid them; and those of the English in part. The Scots returned home, and the English were separated into their several counties, and dismissed. The parliament then adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers. Pym was elected chairman of the committee of the lower house\*. A small committee of both houses was appointed to attend the king into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be spies upon him, and extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the majesty of the king†. Endeavours were used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the king. So little regard did they now pay to royal authority, or to the established constitution of the kingdom.

Amidst the variety of affairs which occurred during

\* Farther attempts were made by the parliament, while it sat, and even by the commons alone, for assuming sovereign executive powers, and publishing their ordinances, as they called them, instead of laws. The committee too, on their

part, were ready to imitate the example.

† The earl of Bedford, lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Armyne, Fiennes, and Hauden, were the persons chosen.



this period, we had almost overlooked the marriage of the princess Mary with William, prince of Orange. The king concluded not this alliance without communicating his intentions to the parliament, who received the proposal with satisfaction. This was the commencement of the connections with the family of Orange: connections which were afterwards attended with the most important consequences, both to the kingdom and to the race of Stuart.

The Scots, who began these fatal commotions, thought that they had finished a very perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance. Never did refined Athens so exult in diffusing the sciences and liberal arts over a savage world; never did generous Rome so please herself in the view of law and order established by her victorious arms; as the Scots now rejoiced, in communicating their barbarous zeal and theological fervour to the neighbouring nations. Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, and dreading still farther encroachments upon him, arrived in Scotland, on the 14th of August, with an intention of abdicating almost entirely the small share of power which remained to him in that kingdom, and of giving full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects. The lords of articles were an ancient institution in the Scottish parliament\*. By their constitution they were well affected in general to the king. Notwithstanding this institution the royal authority was always deemed much lower in Scotland than in England. Bacon represents it as one advantage to be expected from the union, that the too extensive prerogative of England would be abridged by the example of Scotland; and the too narrow prerogative of Scotland be enlarged from the imitation of England. The peers and commons formed only one house in the Scottish parliament: and as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace English gentlemen with Scottish titles, all the determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of these votes of foreigners, who had no interest or property in the nation. It was therefore a law deserving approbation, that no man should be created a Scotch peer, who possessed not ten thousand marks (above five hundred pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing. The king was deprived of that power, formerly exercised, of issuing proclamations, which enjoined obedience, under the penalty of treason.

The most fatal blow given to royal authority, and what in a manner dethroned the prince, was the article, that no member of the privy-council, in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration lay, no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their seats, four judges who had adhered to his interests; and their place was supplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the covenanters were also sworn of the privy-council. And all the ministers of state, counsellors, and judges, were by law to hold their places during life or good behaviour†.

Argyle and Hamilton, being seized with an appre-

hension, real or pretended, that the earl of Crawford and others meant to assassinate them, left the parliament suddenly; and retired into the country: but upon invitation and assurances, returned in a few days. This event was commonly denominated the incident. But though it had no effect in Scotland, it was attended with consequences in England. The English parliament, which was now assembled, being willing to awaken the people's tenderness by exciting their fears, immediately took the alarm; as if the malignants, so they called the king's party, had laid a plot at once to murder them and all the godly in both kingdoms. They applied, therefore, in October, to Essex, whom the king had left general in the south of England; and he ordered a guard to attend them. But while the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himself to the same salutary work in that kingdom; he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion broken out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. On every side this unfortunate prince was pursued with murmurs, discontent, faction, and civil wars; and the fire from all quarters, even by the most independent accidents, at once blazed up about him.

The great plan of James, in the administration of Ireland, continued by Charles, was, by justice and peace, to reconcile that turbulent people to the authority of laws; and introducing art and industry among them, to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been subject. In order to serve both these purposes, and at the same time secure the dominion of Ireland to the English crown, great colonies of British had been carried over, and, being intermixed with the Irish, had every where introduced a new face of things into that country. During a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the nations seemed, in a great measure, to be obliterated; and though much of the landed property, forfeited by rebellion, had been conferred on the new planters, a more than equal return had been made by their instructing the natives in tillage, building, manufactures, and all the civilized arts of life. This had been the course of things during the successive administrations of Chichester, Grandison, Falkland, and, above all, of Strafford. Under the government of this latter nobleman, the pacific plans, now come to greater maturity, and forwarded by his vigour and industry, seemed to have operated with full success, and to have bestowed, at last, on that savage country, the face of an European settlement. After Strafford fell a victim to popular rage, the humours excited in Ireland by that great event, could not suddenly be composed, but continued to produce the greatest innovations in the government. The British protestants, transplanted into Ireland, having every moment before their eyes all the horrors of popery, had naturally been carried into the opposite extreme, and had universally adopted the highest principles and practices of the puritans. Monarchy, as well as the hierarchy, was become odious to them; and every method of limiting the authority of the crown, and detaching themselves from the king of England, was greedily adopted and pursued. They considered not, that as they scarcely formed the sixth part of the people, and were much hated by the ancient inhabitants, their only method of supporting themselves was by maintaining royal authority, and preserving a great dependence on their mother-country.

Charles, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield

\* They were constituted after this manner. The temporal lords chose eight bishops; the bishops elected eight temporal lords: these sixteen named eight commissioners of counties, and eight burghesses: and without the previous consent of the thirty-two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in parliament.

† The king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church; and assisted with great gravity, at the long prayers and longer sermons with which the presby-

terians endeavoured to regale him. He bestowed pensions and preferments on Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers; and practised every art to soften, if not to regain, his greatest enemies. The earl of Argyle was created a marquis, lord Loudon an earl, and Lefly was dignified with the title of earl of Leven. His friends, he was obliged, for the present, to neglect and overlook: some of them were disgusted; and his enemies were not reconciled; but ascribed all his caresses and favours to artifice and necessity.



to the Irish, as to the Scottish and English parliament; and found too, that their encroachments still rose in proportion to his concessions. Those subsidies, which themselves had voted, they reduced, by a subsequent vote, to a fourth part: the court of high-commission was determined to be a grievance: martial law abolished: the jurisdiction of the council annihilated: proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority: every order or institution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and the prince was despoiled of all his prerogative, without the least pretext of any violence or illegality in his administration. The standing army of Ireland was usually about three thousand men; but in order to assist the king in suppressing the Scottish covenants, Strafford had raised eight thousand more, and had incorporated with them a thousand men, drawn from the old army; a necessary expedient for bestowing order and discipline on the new-levied soldiers. The private men in this army were all catholics; but the officers, both commission and non-commission, were protestants, and could entirely be depended on by Charles. The English commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army; and never ceased soliciting the king, till he agreed to break it: nor would they consent to any proposal for augmenting the standing army to five thousand men; a number which the king deemed necessary for retaining Ireland in obedience. Charles thinking it dangerous that eight thousand men, accustomed to idleness, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a nation so turbulent and unsettled, agreed with the Spanish ambassador to have them transported into Flanders, and enlisted in his master's service; but as the English commons did not seem to acquiesce in this measure, the number was reduced to four thousand. But when the Spaniards had hired ships for transporting these troops, and the men were ready to embark, the commons, willing to shew their power, and not displeased with an opportunity of curbing and affronting the king, prohibited every one from furnishing vessels for that service. And thus Charles's project was frustrated.

The Irish remarked these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. Their interests, both with regard to property and religion, secretly stipulated them to a revolt. No individual of any sect, according to the ancient customs, had the property of any particular estate; but as the whole sect had a title to a whole territory, they ignorantly preferred this barbarous community, before the more secure and narrower possessions assigned them by the English. An indulgence, amounting almost to a toleration, had been given to the catholic religion: but so long as the churches and the ecclesiastical revenues were kept from the priests, and they were obliged to endure the neighbourhood of profane heretics, being themselves discontented, they continually endeavoured to retard any cordial reconciliation between the English and the Irish nations. There was a gentleman called Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was descended from an ancient Irish family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. He secretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with lord Maguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish. By conversation, by letters, by his emissaries, he represented to his countrymen the motives of a revolt. He observed to them, "That by the rebellion of the Scots, and factions of the English, the king's authority in Britain was reduced to so low a condition, that he never could exert himself with any vigour in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland; that the catholics, in the Irish house of commons, assisted by the protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative and the power of the lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting, to its desired effect, any conspiracy or combination, which could be

formed; that the Scots having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and assumed the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had so much greater oppressions to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them their possessions, suppressed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful in comparison of the natives; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom; that a great body of men, disciplined by the government, were now thrown loose, and were ready for any daring or desperate enterprize; that though the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in some tolerable measure, the exercise of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they must henceforth expect, that the government will be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament, having at length subdued their sovereignty, would, no doubt, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution, to which their brethren in England were at present exposed; and that a revolt in the Irish, tending only to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion; much less during the present confusions, when their prince was, in a manner, a prisoner, and obedience must be paid, not to him, but to those who had traiterously usurped his lawful authority." By these considerations, More engaged all the heads of the native Irish into the conspiracy. The English of the pale, as they were called, or the old English planters, being all catholics, it was hoped would afterwards join the party, which restored their religion to its ancient splendour and authority. The intention was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale and the other conspirators should begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces, and should attack all the English settlements; and that, on the same day, lord Maguire and Roger More should surprize the castle of Dublin. The commencement of the revolt was fixed on the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. Succours to themselves and supplies of arms they expected from France, in consequence of a promise made them by cardinal Richelieu. And many Irish officers, who served in the Spanish troops, had engaged to join them, as soon as they saw an insurrection entered upon by their catholic brethren. News, which every day arrived from England, of the fury expressed by the commons against all papists, struck fresh terror into the Irish nation, and both stipulated the conspirators to execute their fatal purpose, and gave them assured hopes of the concurrence of all their countrymen.

Such propensity to a revolt was discovered in all the Irish, that it was deemed unnecessary, as it was dangerous, to entrust the secret to many hands; and the appointed day drew nigh, nor had any discovery been yet made to the government. The king, indeed, had received information from his ambassadors, that something was in agitation among the Irish in foreign parts; but though he gave warning to the administration in Ireland, the intelligence was entirely neglected. Secret rumours likewise were heard of some approaching conspiracy; but no attention was paid to them. The earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lieutenant, remained in London. The two justices, Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlace, were men of small abilities; and owed their advancement to their zeal for the party by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquil from their ignorance and inexperience, these men indulged themselves in the most profound repose, on the very brink of destruction. But they were awakened from their security, on the very day before that which was appointed for the commencement of hostilities. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital was commanded, contained arms for ten thousand men, with thirty-five pieces



pieces of cannon, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition: yet was this important place guarded, and that too without any care, by no greater force than fifty men. Maguire and More were already in town with a numerous band of their partizans; others were expected that night; and, next morning, they were to enter upon the surprisal of the castle. O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons. The justices and council fled immediately for safety into the castle, and reinforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the protestants prepared for defence. More escaped: Maguire was taken; and Mahone, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and redoubled the apprehensions which already were universally diffused throughout Dublin. But though O'Conolly's discovery saved the castle from a surprize, the confession extorted from Mahone came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, and goods, of the unwary English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separated into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was, every where, let loose and met the limited victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continual intercourse of kindness and good offices. But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, encouraged by the utmost licence, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity inherent in human breasts be destroyed by that contagion of example, which transports men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour. The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions, in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation, of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcasses or defenceless children of the English. The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine made their own, yet, because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts. The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were con-

sumed with fire, or laid level with the ground. And where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes. If anywhere a number assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge on their assassins; they were disarmed by capitulations, and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Others, more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners, by the fond love of life, to embroil their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which they sought to shun by deserving it.

Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of Religion resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to the catholic faith and piety, was represented as most meritorious. Nature, which, in that rude people, was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther stipulated by precept; and national prejudices empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal. Such, says Hume, were the barbarities, by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion: an event, memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The generous nature of More was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties. He flew to O'Neale's camp; but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon after, he abandoned a cause polluted by so many crimes; and he retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatness of his family, and perhaps too, by the unrestrained brutality of his nature, acquired the entire ascent over the northern rebels. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster: the Scots, at first, met with more favourable treatment. In order to engage them to a passive neutrality, the Irish pretended to distinguish between the British nations; and claiming friendship and consanguinity with the Scots, extended not over them the fury of their massacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country: others retired into places of security, and prepared themselves for defence: and by this means, the Scottish planters, most of them at least, escaped with their lives.

From Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon: though the Irish, in these other provinces, pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goodly manors, with wasting their cultivated fields; they stripped them of their very cloaths, and turned them out, naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season. The Heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English hastening towards Dublin and the other cities, which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble age of children, the tender sex of women, soon sunk under the multiplied rigours of cold and hunger. Here,



the husband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate, which he himself expected soon to share: there, the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands, and abandoning him in this uttermost distress, reserved himself with the hopes of avenging that death, which all his efforts could not prevent or delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears, and lamentable cries, they hurried on through the hostile territories, and found every heart which was not steeled by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion. The saving of Dublin preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city, though timorously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and presented to their view a scene of human misery beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compassion seized the amazed inhabitants, aggravated with the fear of like calamities; while they observed the numerous foes without and within, which everywhere environed them, and reflected on the weak resources by which they were themselves supported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thousand, were enlisted into three regiments: the rest were distributed into the houses; and all care was taken by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from these multiplied distresses, seized many of them, and put a speedy period to their lives: others, having now leisure to reflect on their mighty loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being which they had saved. Abandoning themselves to despair, refusing all succour, they expired; without any other consolation than that of receiving among their countrymen the honours of a grave, which, to their slaughtered companions, had been denied by the inhuman barbarians. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties are supposed to be a hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand: by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they are made to amount to forty thousand.

The justices ordered to Dublin all the bodies of the army which were not surrounded by the rebels; and they assembled a force of fifteen hundred veterans. They soon enlisted, and armed from the magazines above four thousand men more. They dispatched a body of six hundred men, to throw relief into Drogheda, besieged by the Irish. But these troops, attacked by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and were most of them put to the sword. Their arms, falling into the hands of the Irish, supplied them with what they most wanted. The justices, willing to foment the rebellion, in a view of profiting by the multiplied forfeitures, henceforth thought of nothing more than of providing for their own present security, and that of the capital. The earl of Ormond, their general, remonstrated against such timid, not to say base and interested counsels; but was obliged to submit to authority. The English of the pale, who probably were not at first in the secret, pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations, they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government. But in a little time, the interests of religion were found more prevalent over them, than regard and duty to their mother-country. They chose lord Gormanstone their leader; and, joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence towards the English protestants. Besides many smaller bodies dispersed over the kingdom, the principal army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege. Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they seduced many of their deluded countrymen; they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed, that the cause of their taking arms was

to vindicate royal prerogative, now invaded by the pituitant parliament. Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself. The king received an account of this insurrection by a messenger dispatched from the north of Ireland. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottish parliament; and hoped that their horror against popery, a religion which now appeared in its most horrible aspect, would second all his exhortations, and engage them to take part with the protestants. The cries of their affrighted and distressed brethren in Ireland, he promised himself, would powerfully incite them to send over succours, which would arrive so quickly, and aid them with such promptitude in this uttermost distress: but the zeal of the Scots was very feeble, when not stimulated either by faction or by interest. They now considered themselves entirely as a republic, and made no account of the authority of their prince, which they had utterly annihilated. Except dispatching a small body to support the Scottish colonies in Ulster, they would go no farther at present, than send commissioners to London, in order to treat with that power, to whom the sovereign authority was now in reality transferred. The king, sensible of his inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency, to have recourse to the English parliament, and depend on their assistance for supply. He informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash enterprize, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. To their care and wisdom, therefore, he said, he committed the conduct and prosecution of the war, which, in a cause so important to national and religious interests, must of necessity be immediately entered upon and vigorously pursued.

The English parliament was now assembled; and discovered, in every vote, the same dispositions in which they had separated. The exalting of their own authority, the diminishing of the king's, were still the objects pursued by the majority. Sensible that the measures which they had hitherto pursued, rendered them extremely noxious to the king; were many of them in themselves exceptionable; some of them, strictly speaking, illegal; they resolved to seek their own security, as well as greatness, by enlarging popular authority in England. From policy, at first, and inclination, now from necessity, the king attached himself extremely to the hierarchy to endeavour to set aside the schemes of his enemies: for like reasons, his enemies were determined, by one and the same effort, to overpower the church and monarchy. While the commons were in this disposition, the Irish rebellion was the event which tended most to promote the views in which all their measures terminated. A horror against the papists they had constantly encouraged; a terror from the conspiracies of that sect they had at all times endeavoured to excite. Accustomed, in all invectives, to join the prelatical party with the papists, the people immediately supposed this insurrection to be the result of their united counsels. And when they heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their acts of violence; bigotry, even credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman. By the difficulties and distresses of the crown, the commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, had aggrandized themselves; and it seemed a peculiar happiness, that the Irish rebellion had succeeded, at so critical a juncture, to the pacification of Scotland. With regard to Ireland, the parliament assumed the government of it, fully and entirely, as if it had been delivered over to them by a regular gift or assignment. To this usurpation the king was obliged passively to submit; both because of his inability to resist, and lest he should still more expose himself to the reproach of favouring the progress of that odious rebellion. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtship and



and dependence of every one who had any connection with Ireland, or who was desirous of enlisting in these military enterprizes; they levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition; but reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines; but still kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself: whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves, was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland. And if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and which still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest throughout all his dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the extreme distress of that kingdom, so strong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the Irish rebels. To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to frame a general remonstrance of the state of the nation: and accordingly the committee, which at the first meeting of parliament had been chosen for that purpose, and which had hitherto made no progress in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking\*. This remonstrance, which was full of acrimony and violence, was a plain signal for some farther attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration, that the concessions already made, however important, were not to be regarded as satisfactory. The opposition, however, which the remonstrance met with in the house of commons, was great. For above fourteen hours, the debate was warmly managed; and from the weariness of the king's party, which probably consisted chiefly of the elderly people, and men of cool spirits, the vote was at last carried by a small majority of eleven on the 22d of November. Some time after, the remonstrance was ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up to the house of peers for their assent and concurrence.

On the 25th of November the king returned from Scotland, and he was received in London with the shouts and acclamations of the people, and with every demonstration of regard and affection. But all the pleasure which Charles reaped from this joyous reception, was soon damped by the remonstrance of the commons, which was presented him, together with a petition of a like strain. As soon as the remonstrance of the commons was published, the king dispersed an answer to it. In this contest he lay under great disadvantages. Not only the ears of the people were extremely prejudiced against him; the best topics, upon which he could justify, at least apologize for his former conduct, were such as it was not safe or prudent for him at this time to employ. So high was the national idolatry towards parliaments, that to blame the past conduct of these assemblies,

would have been very ill received by the generality of the people. So loud were the complaints against regal usurpations, that, had the king asserted the prerogative of supplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, arising from the obstinacy of the commons, he would have increased the clamours with which the whole nation already resounded. He complained of the general reproaches thrown out in the remonstrance, with regard to ill counsels, though he had protected no minister from parliamentary justice, retained no unpopular servants, and conferred offices on no one who enjoyed not a high character and estimation in the public. "If notwithstanding this," he adds, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of government, that all disorder and confusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his good time, will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment." Nothing shews more evidently the hard situation in which Charles was placed, than to observe, that he was obliged to confine himself within the limits of civility towards subjects who had transgressed all bounds of regard, and even of good manners, in the treatment of their sovereign.

A bill was now passed for pressing soldiers to the service of Ireland. In the preamble the king's power of pressing, a power exercised during all former times, was declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject. In order to elude this law, the king offered to raise ten thousand volunteers for the Irish service: but the commons were afraid lest such an army should be too much at his devotion. Charles, still unwilling to submit to so considerable a diminution of power, came to the house of peers, and offered to pass the law without the preamble; by which means, he said, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would, for the present, be avoided, and the pretensions of each party be left entire. Both houses took fire at this measure, which, from a similar instance while the bill of attainder against Strafford was in dependence, Charles might foresee would be received with resentment. The lords, as well as commons, passed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill which was in agitation in either of the houses, or to express his sentiments with regard to it, before it be presented to him for his assent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compose matters by an apology. The interposition of peers in the election of commoners was likewise about this time declared a breach of privilege; and continues ever since to be condemned by votes of the commons, and uni-

\* The committee now brought into the house that remonstrance, which has become so memorable; and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the king; but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The harshness of the matter was equalled by the severity of the language. It consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths: malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives: loud complaints of the past, accompanied with jealous prognostications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invidious, whatever suspicious measures had been embraced by the king from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on and aggravated with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz, and the Isle of Rhé, are mentioned: the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the Hugonots: the forced loans: the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands: the violent dissolution of our parliaments: the arbitrary government which always succeeded: the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the house: the levying of taxes without consent of the commons: the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: in short, every thing which, either

with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament. And though all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return, the praise of these advantages was ascribed, not to the king, but to the parliament who had extorted his consent to such salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the king, were no less eminent towards the people. Though they had seized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their temporary supplies be paid to their own commissioners, who were independent of him; they pretended that they had liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more egregious, the very giving of money to the Scots, for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland.



versally practised throughout the nation. Every measure pursued by the commons, and still more, every attempt made by their partizans, were full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and shewed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. But notwithstanding these efforts of the commons, they could not expect the concurrence of the upper house, either to this law, or to any other which they should introduce for the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king, and plainly foresaw the depression of nobility, as a necessary consequence of popular usurpations on the crown. The commons even ventured to tell the lords, "That they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity: and therefore, if their lordships will not consent to the passing of acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the commons, together with such of the lords as are more sensible of the danger, must join together, and represent the matter to his majesty." So violent was the democratical, enthusiastic spirit diffused throughout the nation, that a total confusion of all rank and order was justly to be apprehended; and the wonder was not, that the majority of the nobles should seek shelter under the throne, but that any of them should venture to desert it. In order to obtain a majority in the upper house, the commons had recourse to the populace, who on other occasions had done them such important service. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation, and seemed to quake at every breath or rumour of danger. They again excited the people by never-ceasing enquiries after conspiracies, by reports of insurrections, by feigned intelligence of invasions from abroad, by discoveries of dangerous combinations at home among papists and their adherents. When Charles dismissed the guard which they had ordered during his absence, they complained; and, upon his promising them a new guard under the command of the earl of Lindsey, they absolutely refused the offer, and were well pleased to insinuate by this instance of jealousy, that their danger chiefly arose from the king himself. They ordered halberts to be brought into the hall where they assembled, and thus armed themselves against those conspiracies with which they pretended they were hourly threatened. All stories of plots, however ridiculous, were willingly attended to, and were dispersed among the multitude, to whose capacity they were well adapted\*.

The pulpits likewise were called in aid, and refounded with the dangers which threatened religion, from the desperate attempts of papists and malignants. Multitudes flocked towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates and such of the lords as adhered to the crown. The peers voted a declaration against those tumults, and sent it to the lower house; but they refused their concurrence. Some seditious apprentices, being seized and committed to prison, immediately received their liberty, by an order of the commons. The sheriffs and justices having appointed constables with strong watches to guard the parliament, the commons sent for the constables, and required them to discharge the watches, convened the justices, voted their orders a breach of privilege, and sent one of them to the Tower. Encouraged by these intimations of their pleasure, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against Charles himself. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of courts, during this time of dis-

order and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of *Roundheads*, on account of the short cropt hair which they wore: they called the others *Cavaliers*. And thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous, and signalize their mutual hatred. Meanwhile the tumults still continued, and even encreased about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry incessantly resounded against bishops and rotten-hearted lords. The former especially, being distinguishable by their habit, and being the object of violent hatred to all the sectaries, were exposed to the most dangerous insults. Williams, now created archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his brethren. By his advice a protestation was drawn, on the 27th of December, and addressed to the king and the house of lords†. This protestation, which, though just and legal, was certainly ill-timed, was signed by twelve bishops, and communicated to the king, who hastily approved of it. As soon as it was presented to the lords, that house desired a conference with the commons, whom they informed of this unexpected protestation. The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature. They were, on the first demand, sequestrated from parliament, and committed to custody. No man, in either house, ventured to speak a word in their vindication; so much displeased was every one at the egregious imprudence of which they had been guilty. One person alone said, that he did not believe them guilty of high-treason; but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam.

On the 3d of January, 1642, Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the house of peers, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high-treason against lord Kimbolton and five commonsers, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hamden, Pym, and Strode. From this circumstance all the ensuing disorders may be said immediately to proceed. The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection. But men had not leisure to wonder at the indiscretion of this measure: their astonishment was excited by new attempts, still more precipitate and imprudent. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members; and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them, and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies, were sealed and locked. The house voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this opposition, resolved next day to come in person to the house, with an intention to demand, perhaps seize in their presence, the persons whom he had accused. This resolution was discovered to the countess of Carlisle, sister to Northumberland, a lady of spirit, wit, and intrigue. She privately sent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue to the number of above two hundred, armed as

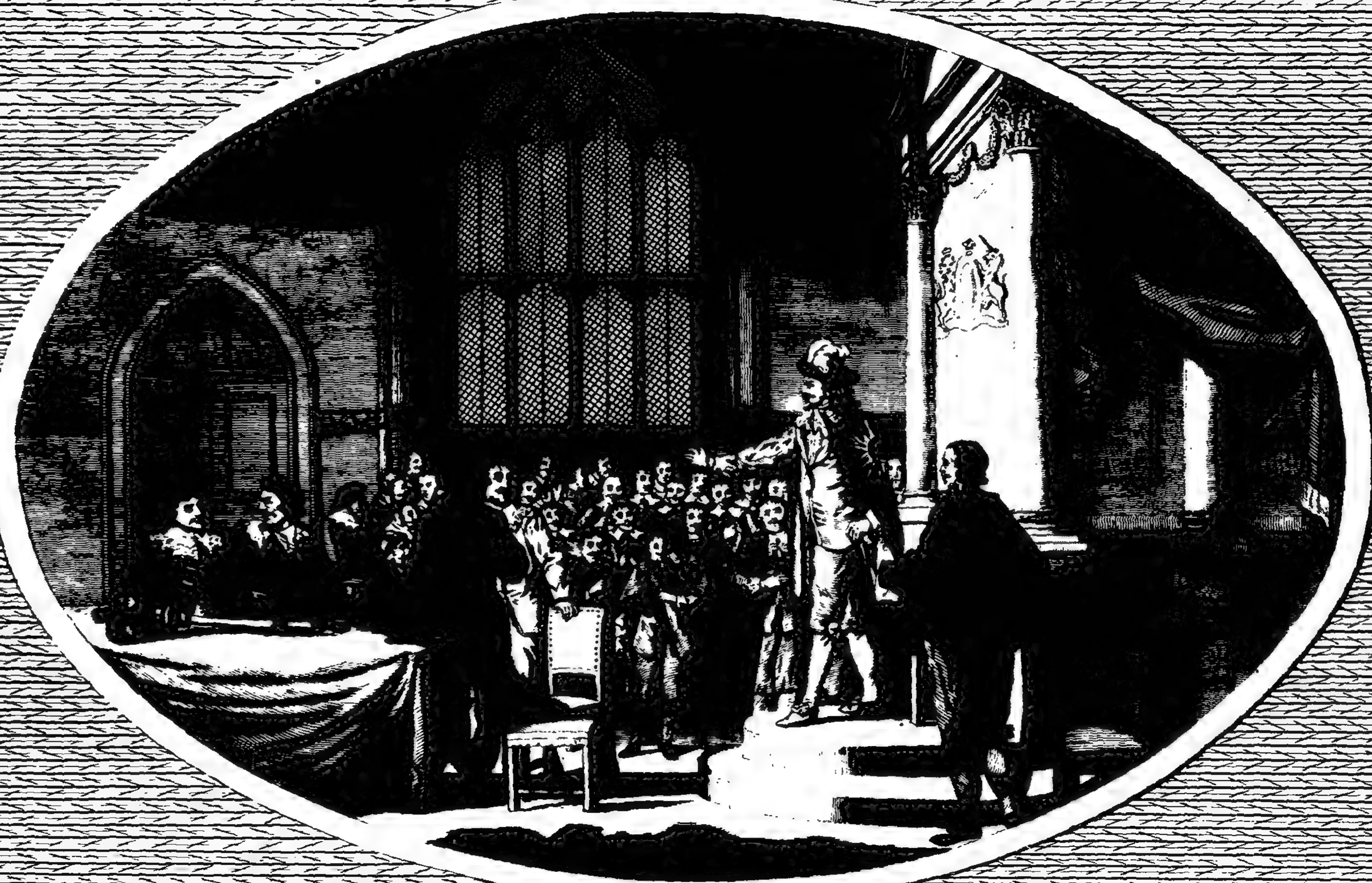
\* Beale, a taylor, informed the commons, that walking in the fields, he had hearkened to the discourse of certain persons unknown to him, and had heard them talk of a most dangerous conspiracy. A hundred and eight ruffians, as he learned, had been appointed to murder a hundred and eight lords and commonsers, and were promised rewards for these assassinations, ten pounds for each lord, and forty shillings for each commonser. Upon this notable intelligence, orders were issued for seizing priests and jesuits, a conference was desired with the lords, and

the deputy-lieutenants of some suspected counties were ordered to put the people in a posture of defence.

† The bishops there set forth, that though they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in parliament, yet, in coming thither, they had been menaced, assaulted, affronted, by the unruly multitude; and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the house. For this reason they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence.



*Engraving for Ashburn's History of England.*



*Charles I. in person, demanding the heads of the traitors, as accused of high treason, and demanded by Charles I. in person.*



usual, some with halberts, some with walking swords. The king left them at the door, and he himself advanced alone through the hall; while all the members arose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. The speech which he made was as follows: "Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming to you. Yesterday I sent a serjeant at arms, to demand some, who, by my order, were accused of high-treason. Instead of obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that, though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I shall be, yet in cases of treason no person has privilege. Therefore, am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way: for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this is no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it." When the king was looking around for the accused members, he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the house? The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied, "I have, Sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me." The commons were in the utmost disorder; and, when the king was departing, some members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, "Privilege! privilege!" And the house immediately adjourned till next day. That evening, the accused members removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpose, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to burn the city, and that the king himself was at their head. Next morning Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common-council immediately. About ten o'clock, he himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall. He told the common-council, that he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to shew how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accused certain men of high-treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. He departed the hall without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" resounding from all quarters. One of the populace drew nigh to his coach, and called out, "To your tents! O Israel!" the words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign.

When the house of commons met, they affected the greatest dismay; and adjourning themselves for some days, ordered a committee to sit in Merchant-Taylor's Hall in the city. It was said, in almost every speech, that the papists and their adherents had instigated the king to these actions; and this assertion failed not of success\*. The house again met; and after confirming the votes of their committee, instantly adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. This practice they continued for some time. When the people, by these affected panics, were

wrought up to a sufficient degree of rage and terror, it was thought proper, that the accused members should, with a triumphant and military procession, take their seats in the house. The river was covered with boats, and other vessels, laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight. Skippon, whom the parliament had appointed, by their own authority, major-general of the city-militia, conducted the members, at the head of this tumultuary army, to Westminster-Hall. And when the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they still asked with insulting shouts, "What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?" The king, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton-Court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse, for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. The more to excite the people, whose dispositions were already very seditious, the expedient of petitioning was renewed. A petition from the county of Buckingham was presented to the house by six thousand subscribers, who promised to live and die in defence of the privilege of parliament. The city of London, the county of Essex, that of Hertford, Surrey, and Berks, imitated the example. A petition from the apprentices was graciously received. Nay, one was encouraged from the porters; whose number amounted, as they said, to fifteen thousand. The address of that great body contained the same articles with all the others; the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion of Ireland, and the decay of trade. The porters farther desired, that justice might be done upon offenders, as the atrociousness of their crimes had deserved. And they added, "That if such remedies were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, *That necessity has no law.*" Another petition was presented by several poor people, or beggars, in the name of many thousands more; in which the petitioners proposed, as a remedy for the public miseries, "That those noble worthies of the house of peers, who concur with the happy votes of the commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body." The commons gave thanks for this petition. The very women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house: in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. They had been necessitated, they said, to imitate the example of the women of Tekoah: and they claimed equal right with the men, of declaring, by petition, their sense of the public cause; because Christ had purchased them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consists equally the happiness of both sexes. Pym came to the door of the house; and having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a seasonable time, he begged that their prayers for the success of the commons might follow their petition. In the mean time, not only all petitions, which favoured the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were discouraged; but the petitioners were sent for, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents: and this unequal conduct was openly avowed and justified.

By the flight, or terror, or despondency of the king's party, an undisputed majority remained every where to their opponents; and the bills sent up by the commons, which had hitherto stopped with the peers, now passed, and were presented for the royal assent. These were, the pressing bill with its preamble, and the bill against

\* A letter was pretended to be intercepted, and was communicated to the committee, who pretended to lay great stress upon it. One catholic there congratulated another on the accusation of the members; and represents that incident as a

branch of the same pious contrivance, which had excited the Irish insurrection, and by which the profane heretics would soon be exterminated in England.



the votes of the bishops in parliament. The king's authority was at that time reduced to the lowest ebb. The queen too, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no resource in her husband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. The rage of the people was, on account of her religion, as well as her spirit and activity, universally levelled against her. Usage, the most contumelious, she had hitherto borne with silent indignation. The commons, in their fury against priests, had seized her very confessor; nor would they release him upon her repeated applications. Even a visit of the prince to his mother had been openly complained of, and remonstrances against it had been presented to her. Apprehensive of attacks still more violent, she was desirous of facilitating her escape; and she prevailed with the king to pass these bills, in hopes of appeasing for a time the rage of the multitude. The moment the commons were informed of these last acquisitions, they affronted the queen, by opening some intercepted letters written to her by lord Digby: they carried up an impeachment against Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his master's commands in accusing their members. And they prosecuted with fresh vigour their plan of the militia, on which they rested all future hopes of an uncontrolled authority. A large magazine of arms being placed in the town of Hull, they dispatched thither Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of an ancient family; and they gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament. Not content with having obliged the king to displace Lunsford, whom he had appointed governor of the Tower, they never ceased soliciting him, till he had also displaced Sir John Biron, a man of unexceptionable character, and had bestowed that command on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence. After making a fruitless attempt, in which the peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning, that the people should put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprize of papists and other ill-affected persons, they now resolved, by a bold and decisive stroke, to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confer it entirely on their own creatures and adherents.

A bill was now introduced and passed the two houses, which restored to lieutenants and deputies the same powers of which the votes of the commons had bereaved them; but at the same time the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill; and they consisted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the parliament\*.

With this bill the king began to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. When he was requested to give the royal assent, he was at Dover, attending the queen and the princess of Orange, in their embarkation. He replied, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of so great importance, and must therefore respite his answer till his return. The parliament instantly dispatched another message to him, with solicitations still more importunate. They expressed their great grief on account of his majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented, that any delay, during dangers and distractions so great and pressing, was not less unsatisfactory

and destructive than an absolute denial. They insisted that it was their duty to see put in execution a measure so necessary for public safety. And they affirmed, that the people, in many counties, had applied to them for that purpose, and, in some places, were, of themselves, and by their own authority, providing against those urgent dangers with which they were threatened. Even after this insolence, the king durst not venture upon a flat denial. Besides excepting to the preamble, which threw such dishonour upon him, and protesting the innocence of his intentions when he entered the house of commons; he only desired that the military authority, if it were defective, should first be conferred upon the crown; and he promised to bestow commissions, but such as should be revokable at pleasure, on the same persons whom the parliament had named in the bill. But the intentions of the commons were wide of this purpose, and their panics could be cured by one remedy alone. They replied, that unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. While they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where they knew he would be entirely at mercy. "I am so much amazed at this message," said the king in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: and if so, I assure you that this message has nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not. What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgement of Heaven upon this nation if these distractions continue, God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."

No sooner did the commons despair of obtaining the king's consent to their bill, than they instantly voted, that those who advised his majesty's answers were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; and that such of the subjects as have put themselves in a posture of defence against the common danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and approved by the house†.

Charles, resolved to remove farther from London: and accordingly, taking the prince of Wales and the duke of York along with him, he arrived, by slow journeys, at York, which he determined for some time to make the place of his residence. The distant parts of the kingdom, being removed from that furious vortex of new principles and opinions which had transported the capital, still retained a sincere regard for the church and monarchy; and the king here found marks of at-

\* The following is part of the preamble to this bill: "Whereas there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody counsels of papists and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland. And whereas, by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom of England; but also to back them with forces from abroad, &c."

† Lord Digby having entered Kingston in a coach and six,

attended by a few livery servants, the intelligence was conveyed to London; and it was immediately voted, that he had appeared in a hostile manner, to the terror and affright of his majesty's subjects, and had levied war against the king and kingdom. Petitions from all quarters loudly demanded of the parliament to put the nation in a posture of defence; and the county of Strafford, in particular, expressed such dread of an insurrection among the papists, that every man, they said, was constrained to stand upon his guard, not even daring to go to church unarmed.



achment beyond what he had expected. From all quarters of England, the prime nobility and gentry, either personally, or by messages or letters, expressed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery with which they were threatened. The small interval of time which had passed since the fatal accusation of the members, had been sufficient to open the eyes of many, and to recover them from the astonishment with which at first they had been seized. Charles, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the commons with a vigour which he had not before exerted. Notwithstanding their remonstrances, menaces, and insults, he still persisted in refusing their bill; and they proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, without the king's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation; and, as he professed a resolution strictly to observe the law himself, so was he determined, he said, to oblige every other person to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was so essential to all the laws, and so familiar in all acts of executive authority, that the parliament was afraid, had they totally omitted it, that the innovation would be too sensible to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the persons to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament. And, inventing a distinction, hitherto unheard of, between the office and the person of the king, those very forces which they employed against him, they levied in his name, and by his authority.

Each party was now willing to throw on its antagonist the odium of commencing a civil war; but both of them prepared for an event which they deemed inevitable. To gain the people's favour and good opinion, was the chief point on both sides. To determine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons proposed by both parties. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the contenders. So sensible was Charles of his superiority in this particular, that he took care to disperse every-where the papers of the parliament together with his own, that the people might be more enabled, by comparison, to form a judgment between them: but the parliament, with a baseness peculiar only to themselves while they distributed copies of their own, were anxious to suppress all the king's compositions. Though these writings were of consequence, and tended much to reconcile the nation to Charles, it was evident that they would not be decisive, and that keener weapons must determine the controversy. To the ordinance of the parliament concerning the militia, the king opposed his commissions of array. The counties obeyed the one or the other, according as they stood affected. And in many counties, where the people were divided, mobbish combats and skirmishes ensued. The parliament, on this occasion, went so far as to vote, "That when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, is a high breach of their privilege." The magazine of Hull contained the arms of all the forces levied against the Scots; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, though he had accepted of a commission from the parliament, was not thought to be much disaffected to the church and monarchy. Charles, therefore, entertained hopes, that if he presented himself at Hull before the commencement

of hostilities; Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his retinue; after which he might easily render himself master of the place. But the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates, and refused to receive the king, who desired leave to enter with twenty persons only. Charles immediately proclaimed him a traitor, and complained to the parliament of his disobedience. The parliament avowed and justified the action. The county of York levied a guard for the king of six hundred men. The two houses, though they had levied a guard for themselves, had attempted to seize all the military power, all the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; and had openly employed their authority in every kind of warlike preparations; yet immediately voted, "That the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war against his parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end, but the care of his kingdom, and the performance of all duty and loyalty in his person; that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that whoever should assist him in such a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom." The armies, which had been every-where raised on pretence of their service in Ireland, were henceforth more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the earl of Essex. In London no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. On the 10th of June they issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces which should defend the king and both houses of parliament: for this style they still preserved. Within ten days, vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. So well did this mode succeed, that even the women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the good cause against the malignants. Meanwhile the splendour of the nobility, with which the king was environed, much eclipsed the appearance at Westminster. Lord-keeper Littleton, after sending the great seal before him, had fled to York. Above forty peers of the first rank attended the king, while the house of lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. Near the moiety too of the lower house absented themselves from counsels which they deemed so full of danger. The commons sent up an impeachment against nine peers, for deserting their duty in parliament. Their own members also, who should return to them, they voted not to admit, till satisfied concerning the reason of their absence. Charles made a declaration to the peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land. The peers answered this declaration by a protest, in which they declared their resolution to obey no commands but such as were warranted by that authority. By these deliberate engagements, so worthy of an English prince and English nobility, they meant to confound the furious and tumultuary resolutions taken by the parliament. The queen, disposing of the crown-jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition. Part of these, after escaping many perils, arrived safely to the king. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the parliament. But the urgent necessity of his situation no longer admitted of delay. He now prepared himself for defence. That the king might despair of all composition, the parliament sent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement\*. As the king in honour could

\* Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. They required, that no man should remain in the council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's should have validity, unless it passed the council, and was assented unto.  
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der their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of parliament or council; that the laws should be executed against catholics; that the votes of popish lords should



could not accept of the terms of the parliamentary manifesto, war on any terms was esteemed, by him and all his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms. "His towns," he said, "were taken from him, his ships, his arms, his money; but there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God's blessing, he doubted not, would recover all the rest." Collecting therefore some forces, he advanced southwards; and at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom.

When two names, so sacred in the English constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition; no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. The nobility, and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The government of cities, which even under absolute monarchies is commonly republican, inclined them to this party; made the new splendour and glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty so happily supported industry, and the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in England. The genius of the two religions, so closely at this time interwoven with politics, corresponded exactly to these divisions. The presbyterian religion was new, republican, and suited to the genius of the populace: the other had an air of greater shew and ornament, was established on ancient authority, and bore an affinity to the kingly and aristocratical parts of the constitution. The devotees of presbytery became of course zealous partizans of the parliament: the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy. Some men also there were of liberal education who, being either careless or ignorant of those disputes bandied about by the clergy of both sides, aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amidst the jovial entertainments and social intercourse of their companions. All these flocked to the king's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity, which seemed to reign among the parliamentary party. Never was a quarrel more unequal than seemed at first that between the contending parties: almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The king's revenue had been seized, from the beginning, by the parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his present subsistence, and as soon as he withdrew to York, they totally stopped all payments. London and all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable supply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised from the cities which possessed the ready money, and where men lived under their inspection, than they could be levied by the king in those open countries, which after some time declared for him. The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports to which they be-

longed: and the earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, having embraced the party of the parliament, had appointed, at their desire, the earl of Warwick to be his lieutenant, who at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of that assembly. All the magazines of arms and ammunition were from the first seized by the parliament; and their fleet intercepted the greater part of those which were sent by the queen from Holland. The king was obliged, in order to arm his followers, to borrow the weapons of the train bands, under promise of restoring them as soon as peace should be settled in the kingdom.

The veneration for parliaments was at this time extreme throughout the nation. The custom of reviling those assemblies for corruption, as it had no pretence, so was it unknown, during all former ages. Few or no instances of their encroaching ambition or selfish claims had hitherto been observed. The king's adherents were the *Wicked* and the *Malignant*: their adversaries were the *Godly* and the *Well-affected*. What alone gave the king some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries, was the nature and quality of his adherents. More bravery and activity were hoped for, from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the base disposition of the multitude. And as the men of estates, at their own expence, levied and armed their tenants, besides an attachment to their masters, greater force and courage were to be expected in these rustic troops, than in the vicious and enervated populace of cities.

The neighbouring states of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little interested themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. France, from policy, had fomented the first disorders in Scotland; had sent over arms to the Irish rebels; and continued to give countenance to the English parliament: Spain, from bigotry, furnished the Irish with some supplies of money and arms. The prince of Orange, closely allied to the crown, encouraged English officers, who served in the Low-Countries, to enlist in the king's army: the Scottish officers, who had been formed in Germany, and in the late commotions, chiefly took part with the parliament.

Even after the king's standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend the danger of a civil war; nor was it imagined that he would have the imprudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was so much superior. The low condition in which he appeared at Nottingham confirmed all these hopes. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not gotten together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed.

Sir Jacob Astley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his intended army, told him, so weak was his majesty's force, that he could not give him assistance but he might be taken out of his bed, if the

should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should have place, according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exception, as should be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament, and that no peer be made but with consent of both houses. "Should I grant these demands," said the king in reply, "I may be

waited on bare-headed. I may have my hand kissed; the title of Majesty may be continued to me; and the king's authority signified by both houses, may still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre, though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead: but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king."

rebels



rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. All the king's attendants were full of well-grounded apprehensions. Some of the lords having desired that a message might be sent to the parliament, with overtures to a treaty, Charles, who well knew that an accommodation, in his present condition, meant nothing but a total submission, hastily broke up the council, lest this proposal should be insisted on. But next day, the earl of Southampton, whom no one could suspect of base or timid sentiments, having offered the same advice in council, it was hearkened to with more coolness and deliberation. He urged, that though such a step would probably increase the insolence of the parliament, this was so far from being an objection, that such dispositions must necessarily turn to the advantage of the royal cause: that if they refused to treat, which was more probable, the very sound of peace was so popular, that nothing could more disgust the nation, than such haughty severity: that if they admitted of a treaty, their proposal, considering their present situation, would be so exorbitant, as to open the eyes of their most partial adherents, and turn the general favour to the king's party: and that, at worst, time might be gained by this expedient, and a delay of the imminent danger with which the king was at present threatened. Charles, on assembling the council, had declared against all advances towards an accommodation; and had said, that, having now nothing left him but his honour, this last possession he was resolved steadily to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of his enemies. But, by the unanimous desire of the counsellors, he was prevailed on to embrace Southampton's advice. That nobleman, therefore, with Sir John Colepeper and Sir William Uvedale, was dispatched to London, with offers of a treaty. The manner in which they were received gave little hopes of success. Southampton was not allowed by the peers to take his seat; but was ordered to deliver his message to the usher, and immediately to depart the city: the commons shewed little better disposition towards Colepeper and Uvedale. Both houses replied, that they could admit of no treaty with the king, till he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. The king, by a second message, denied any such intention against the two houses; but offered to recal these proclamations, provided the parliament agreed to recal theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They desired him, in return, to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up delinquents to their justice; that is, abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies. The king believed that the people were made sufficiently sensible of the parliament's insolence and aversion to peace: the parliament intended, by this vigour in their resolutions, to support the vigour of their military operations.

The courage of the parliament was increased, besides their great superiority of force, by two recent events, which had happened in their favour. Goring was governor of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, and, by its situation, of great importance. He took underhand his measures with the court, and declared against the parliament: but, though he had been sufficiently supplied with money, and long before knew his danger, so small was his foresight, that he had left the place entirely destitute of provisions, and in a few days he was obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces. The marquis of Hertford was a nobleman of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, and, equally with the king, descended, by a female, from Henry VII. During the reign of James, he had attempted, without having obtained the consent of that monarch, to marry Arabella Stuart, a lady nearly related to the crown; and, upon discovery of his intentions, had been obliged, for some time, to fly the kingdom. Ever after, he was looked on with an evil eye at court, from which, in a great measure, he withdrew;

and living in an independent manner, he addicted himself entirely to literary occupations and amusements. In proportion as the king declined in popularity, Hertford's character flourished with the people; and when this parliament assembled, no nobleman possessed more general favour and authority. By his sagacity he soon perceived the intentions of the commons; and devoting himself to the support of the king's falling authority, he was prevailed with to be governor to the young prince, and reside at court, to which, in the eyes of all men, he gave, by his presence, a new lustre and authority. So high was his character for mildness and humanity, that he still preserved, by means of these popular virtues, the public favour; and every one was sensible of the true motive of his charge. Notwithstanding his habits of ease and study, he now exerted himself in raising an army for the king; and being named general of the western counties, where his interest chiefly lay, he began to assemble forces in Somersetshire. By the assistance of lord Seymour, lord Paulet, John Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, Sir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together some appearance of an army, when the parliament, apprehensive of the danger, sent the earl of Bedford with a considerable force against him. On his approach, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne Castle; and, finding that place untenable, he himself passed over into Wales, leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley, Digby, and other officers, with their horse, consisting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that county better prepared for their reception.

All the dispersed bodies of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to fifteen thousand men. The king, though his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was sensible that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force; and he thought it prudent, by slow marches, to retire to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of every regiment. Though the concurrence of the church increased the king's adherents, it may safely be affirmed, that the high monarchical doctrines, so much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any real service. While the king's army lay at Shrewsbury, and he was employing himself in collecting money, which he received, though in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the universities, which was sent him, the news arrived of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and where he was successful.

On the appearance of commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, had offered their service to the king; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. No sooner had the prince arrived, than he saw some cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay, he briskly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane, and forming themselves. Colonel Sandys, who led them, and who fought with valour, being mortally wounded, fell from his horse. The whole party was routed, and was pursued above a mile. The prince, hearing of Essex's approach, returned to the main body. This rencountre mightily raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired to prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage. The king on mustering his army, found it amount to ten thousand men. The earl of Lindsey, now lord Willoughby, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low-Countries, was general: prince Rupert commanded the horse: Sir Jacob Astley, the foot; Sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons: Sir John Heydon, the artillery.



artillery. Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards\*. With this army the king left Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, resolving to give battle as soon as possible to the army of the parliament, which, he heard, was continually augmenting by supplies from London. In order to bring on an action, he directed his march towards the capital, which, he knew, the enemy would not abandon to him. Essex had now received his instructions: the import of them was, to present a most humble petition to the king, and to rescue him and the royal family from those desperate malignants, who had seized their persons. Two days after the departure of the royalists from Shrewsbury, he left Worcester. Though it be commonly easy in civil wars to get intelligence, the armies were within six miles of each other, before either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy †.

The royal army lay near Banbury: that of the parliament at Keinton, in the county of Warwick. Prince Rupert sent intelligence of the enemy's approach on the 23d of the same month. Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack: Essex drew up his men to receive him. Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop from the Irish wars, had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now posted on the left wing, commanded by Ramsay, a Scotchman. No sooner did the king's army approach, than Fortescue ordering his troops to discharge their pistols in the ground, put himself under the command of prince Rupert. Partly from this incident, and partly from the furious shock made upon them by the prince; that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were pursued for two miles. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better success. Chased from their ground by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aston, they also took to flight. The king's body of reserve, commanded by Sir John Biron, judging like raw soldiers, that all was over, and impatient to have some share in the action, heedlessly followed the chase, which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, perceived the advantage: he wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite unfurnished of horse; and he made great havoc among them. Lindsey, the general, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His son, endeavouring his rescue, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the king's standard, was killed, and the standard taken; but it was afterwards recovered. In this situation, prince Rupert, on his return, found affairs. Every thing bore the appearance of a defeat, instead of a victory, with which he had hastily flattered himself. Some advised the king to leave the field: but that prince rejected such pusillanimous counsel. The two armies faced each other for some time, and neither of them retained courage sufficient for a new attack. All night they lay under arms; and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. General, as well as soldier, on both sides, seemed averse to renew the battle. Essex first drew off and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle; and the loss of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the opposite accounts, were nearly equal. Such was the event of this first battle, fought at Keinton, or Edge-Hill.

Some of Essex's horse who had been driven off the field in the beginning of the action, flying to a great distance, carried news of a total defeat, and struck a

mighty terror into the city and parliament. The king continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion.

After the royal army was recruited and refreshed, as the weather still continued favourable, it was again put in motion. A party of horse approached to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the parliament. Both governor and garrison were seized with a panic, and fled with precipitation to London. The king now advanced with his whole army to Reading. The parliament, who, instead of their fond expectations, that Charles would never be able to collect an army, had now the prospect of civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event; were farther alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance. They voted an address for a treaty. The king's nearer approach to Colebroke quickened their advances for peace. Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, presented the address of both houses; in which they besought his majesty to appoint some convenient place where he might reside, till committees could attend him with proposals. The king named Windsor, and desired that their garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle. Meanwhile Essex, advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked, at Brentford, two regiments quartered there, on the 30th of November, and after a sharp action beat them from that village, and took about five hundred prisoners. The city now, anxious for its own safety, marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Essex ‡. After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off and retired to Reading, thence to Oxford.

While the principal armies on both sides were kept in action by the winter season, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, and in seeming advances towards peace. By means of contributions or assessments, levied by the horse, Charles maintained his cavalry: by loans and voluntary presents, sent him from all parts of the kingdom, he supported his infantry: but the supplies were still very unequal to the necessities under which he laboured. The parliament had much greater resources for money; and had by consequence, every military preparation in much greater order and abundance §. The king and parliament sent reciprocally their demands; and a treaty commenced, but without any cessation of hostilities, as had at first been proposed. The earl of Northumberland, and four members of the lower house, came to Oxford as commissioners in the beginning of 1643. In this treaty the king perpetually insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative: the parliament still required new concessions, and a farther abridgement of regal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealousies. Finding the king supported by more forces, and a greater party than they had ever looked for, they seemingly abated somewhat of those extravagant conditions which they had formerly claimed; but their demands were still too high for an equal treaty. The conferences went no farther than the first demand on each side. The parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

\* The estates and revenue of this single troop, according to lord Clarendon's computation, were at least equal to those of all the members who, at the commencement of the war, voted in both houses. Their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their masters.

† Shrewsbury and Worcester, the places from which they set out, are not above twenty miles distant; yet had the two

armies marched ten days in this mutual ignorance.

‡ The parliamentary army now amounted to above twenty-four thousand men, and was much superior to that of the king.

§ Besides an imposition levied in London, amounting to the five and-twentieth part of every one's substance, they established on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand, five hundred and eighty, on the rest of the kingdom.



A military enterprize, which they had concerted early in the spring, was immediately undertaken. Reading, the garrison of the king's which lay nearest to London, was esteemed a place of considerable strength. The earl of Essex sat down before this place with an army of eighteen thousand men on the 15th of April; and carried on the siege by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being wounded, colonel Fielding succeeded to the command. In a little time the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence; and though the king approached, with an intention of obliging Essex to raise the siege, the disposition of the parliamentary army was so strong, as rendered the design impracticable. Fielding, therefore, was contented to yield the town, on the 27th of the same month, on condition that he should bring off all the garrison with the honours of war, and deliver up deserters\*.

In the north lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, the earl of Newcastle for the king. The latter nobleman began these associations, which were afterwards so much practised in other parts of the kingdom. He united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, and engaged, some time after, other counties in the same association. Finding that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham and the garrison of Hull, was making progress in the southern parts of Yorkshire, he advanced with a body of four thousand men, and took possession of York. At Tadcaster, he attacked the forces of the parliament, and dislodged them: but his victory was not decisive. In other rencounters he obtained some inconsiderable advantages. But the chief benefit which resulted from his enterprizes was the establishing of the king's authority in all the northern provinces. In another part of the kingdom, lord Brooke was killed by a shot, while he was taking possession of Litchfield for the parliament. After a short combat, near Stafford, between the earl of Northampton and Sir John Gell, the former, who commanded the king's forces, was killed while he fought with great valour; and his forces, discouraged by his death, though they had obtained the advantage in the action, retreated into the town of Stafford.

Sir William Waller began now to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he advanced towards Gloucester, which was in a manner blockaded by lord Herbert, who had levied considerable forces in Wales for the royal party. While he attacked the Welch on one side, a sally from Gloucester made impression on the other. Herbert was defeated; five hundred of his men killed on the spot; a thousand taken prisoners; and he himself escaped with some difficulty to Oxford. Hereford, esteemed a strong town, defended by a considerable garrison, was surrendered to Waller, from the cowardice of colonel Price, the governor. Tewkesbury underwent the same fate. Worcester refused him admittance; and Waller, without placing any garrisons in his new conquests, retired to Gloucester, and he thence joined the army under the earl of Essex. But the most memorable actions of valour, during this winter season, were performed in the west. When Sir Ralph Hopton, with his small troop, retired into Cornwall before the earl of Bedford, that nobleman, despising so inconsiderable a force, abandoned the pursuit, and committed the care of suppressing the royal party to the sheriffs of the county. But the affections of Cornwall were much inclined to the king's service. While Sir Richard Buller, and Sir Alexander Carew lay at Launceston, and employed themselves in executing the parliament's ordinance for the militia, a meeting of the county was assembled at Truro; and after Hopton produced his commission from the earl of Hertford, the king's general, it was agreed to execute the laws, and to expel these in-

vaders of the county. The train-bands were accordingly levied, Launceston taken, and all Cornwall reduced to peace and to obedience under the king. The Cornish royalists not being able to send their train-bands out of the county, bethought themselves of levying a force, which might be more serviceable. Sir Bevil Granville, the most beloved man of that country, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, undertook, at their own charges, to raise an army for the king; and their great interest in Cornwall soon enabled them to effect their purpose. The parliament, alarmed at this appearance of the royalists, gave a commission to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and make an entire conquest of Cornwall. The earl of Stamford followed him at some distance, with a considerable supply. Ruthven, having entered Cornwall, by bridges thrown over the Tamar, hastened to an action; lest Stamford should join him, and obtain the honour of that victory which he looked for with assurance. The royalists, in like manner, were impatient to bring the affair to a decision before Ruthven's army should receive so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Bradoc Down; and the king's forces, though inferior in number, gave a total defeat to their enemies. Ruthven, with a few disordered troops fled to Saltash; and when that town was taken, he escaped, with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth. Stamford retired, and distributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

Stamford having assembled a strong body of near seven thousand men, was supplied with money, provisions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and were oppressed by every kind of necessity. Stamford being encamped at the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four divisions, at five in the morning of the 16th of May, having lain all night under arms. One division was commanded by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley, a third by Slanning and Trevannion, a fourth by Bassett and Godolphin. In this manner the action began; the king's forces pressing with vigour those four ways up the hill, and their enemies obstinately defending themselves. The fight continued with doubtful success, till word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder. This defect, which they concealed from the soldiers, they resolved to supply by their valour. They agreed to advance without firing till they should reach the top of the hill, and could be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists began on all sides to gain ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliamentary army, (for Stamford kept them at a distance,) failed not in his duty; and when he saw his men recoil, he himself advanced with a good stand of pikes, and piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was at last overpowered by numbers, and taken prisoner. His army, upon this disaster, gave ground apace; insomuch that the four parties of the royalists, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended, at length met together upon the plain at the top; where they embraced with great joy, and signalized their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations. After this success, the attention both of king and parliament was turned towards the west, as to a very important scene of action. The king sent thither the marquis of Hereford and prince Maurice with a reinforcement of cavalry; who, having joined the Cornish army, soon over-ran the county of Devon; and advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the parliament, having supplied Sir William Waller, in whom they much trusted, with a complete

\* This last article was thought so ignominious and so prejudicial to the king's interest, that the governor was tried by a No. LVI.

council of war, and condemned to lose his life, for consenting to it. This sentence was afterwards remitted by the king.



army, dispatched him westwards, in order to check the progress of the royalists. After some skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, on the 15th of July, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The gallant Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some powder, was dangerously hurt. The royalists next attempted to march eastwards, and to join their forces to the king's at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters; he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was resolved, that Hertford and prince Maurice, should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, should hasten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was so confident of taking this body of infantry now abandoned by the horse, that he wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that by the next post he would inform them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had prepared a considerable body of cavalry, which he immediately dispatched to their succour under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway-Down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, and prevent his conjunction with the Cornish infantry, was received with equal valour by the royalists. After a sharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot, seizing the enemies' cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, drove them off the field, and routed and dispersed the whole army. This action was fought on the 13th of July. This important victory following so quick after many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their principal army commanded by Essex.

Colonel Urrey, a Scotchman, who served in the parliamentary army, having received some disgust, came to Oxford, and offered his services to the king. In order to prove the sincerity of his conversion, he informed prince Rupert of the loose disposition of the enemies' quarters, and exhorted him to form some attempt upon them. The prince fell suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horseback, in order to pursue the prince, to recover the prisoners, and to repair the disgrace which the army had sustained. Among the rest, Hamden, who had a regiment of infantry that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer, and overtaking the royalists on Chalgrave field, entered into the thickest of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off, and a great booty, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was, the expectation that some disaster had happened to Hamden, their capital and much dreaded enemy. One of the prisoners taken in the action said, that he was confident Mr. Hamden was hurt; for he saw him ride off the field, before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived, that he was shot on the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Some days after, he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound; nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been thrown into greater consternation\*. Essex discouraged by this event,

dismayed by the total rout of Waller, was farther informed, that the queen, who landed in Burlington-Bay, had arrived at Oxford, and had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. Dislodging from Thame and Aylesbury, he thought proper to retreat near to London, and he shewed to his friends his broken and disheartened forces, which a few months before he had led into the field in so flourishing a condition. The king, freed from his enemy, sent his army westward under prince Rupert; and by their conjunction with the Cornish troops, a formidable force, for number, as well as reputation and valour, was composed. That an enterprize correspondent to men's expectations, might be undertaken, the prince resolved to lay siege to Bristol, the second town for riches and greatness in the kingdom. Nathaniel Fiennes, son of lord Say, he himself, as well as his father, a great parliamentary leader, was governor, and commanded a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and two regiments, one of horse, another of dragoons. The fortifications not being complete or regular, it was resolved by prince Rupert to storm the city; and next morning, with little other provisions suitable to such a work, besides the courage of the troops, the assault began. The Cornish, in three divisions, attacked the west side, with a resolution which nothing could control: but though the middle division had already mounted the wall, so great was the disadvantage of the ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that in the end the assailants were repulsed with a considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. On the prince's side, the assault was conducted with equal courage, and almost with equal loss, but with better success. One party, led by lord Grandison, was indeed beaten off, and the commander himself mortally wounded: another conducted by colonel Bellasis, met with a like fate: but Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain weaker than the rest, broke in, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. By this irruption, however, nothing but the suburbs was yet gained: the entrance into the town was still more difficult: and by the loss already sustained, as well as by the prospect of farther danger, every one was extremely discouraged: when, to the great joy of the army, the city beat a parley. The garrison was allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours, on the 25th of July. For this instance of cowardice, Fiennes was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to lose his head; but the sentence was remitted by the general†.

The loss sustained by the royalists, in the assault of Bristol, was considerable. Five hundred excellent soldiers perished. Among those of condition were Grandison, Slanning, Trevannion, and Moyle: Bellasis, Ashley, and Sir John Owen, were wounded: yet was the success, upon the whole, so considerable as mightily raised the courage of the one party, and depressed that of the other. The king, to shew that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor aspired to a total victory over the parliament, published a manifesto; in which he renewed the protestation, formerly taken, with great solemnity, at the head of his army, and expressed his firm intention of making peace upon the re-establishment of the constitution. Having joined the camp at Bristol, and sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire, he deliberated how to employ the remaining forces in an enterprize of moment. Some proposed to march directly to London, others proposed an attack upon Gloucester, which lying within twenty miles, presented an easier, yet a very important conquest. It was the only remaining garrison possessed by the parliament in those parts. The governor of Gloucester was one Maffey, a soldier of fortune, who, before

\* The king himself so highly valued him, that, either from his generosity or policy, he intended to have sent him his own surgeon to assist at his cure.

† Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 284. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 293, 294, &c.



he engaged with the parliament, had offered his service to the king; and as he was free from the fumes of enthusiasm, by which most of the officers on that side were intoxicated, he would lend an ear, it was presumed, to proposals for accommodation. But Massey was resolute to preserve an entire fidelity to his masters; and though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit so prevalent in his city and garrison. The summons to surrender, on the 10th of August, allowed two hours for an answer: but before that time expired, there appeared before the king two citizens, with lean, pale, sharp, and dismal visages: faces, so strange and uncouth, according to lord Clarendon; figures, so habited and accoutred, as at once moved the most severe countenance to mirth, and the most cheerful heart to sadness: it seemed impossible, that such messengers could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undimayned accent, said, that they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester; and extremely ready were they, according to the historian, to give insolent and seditious replies to any question; as if their business were chiefly, by provoking the king, to make him violate his own safe conduct\*. After the king's message was answered, the siege was resolutely undertaken by the army, and as resolutely sustained by the citizens and garrison. When intelligence of the siege of Gloucester arrived at London, the consternation among the inhabitants was as great as if the enemy were already at their gates. Massey, resolute to make a vigorous defence, and having under his command a city and garrison ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, had hitherto maintained the siege with courage and abilities, and had much retarded the advances of the king's army. By continual sallies, he repelled the vigour and alacrity of their courage, elated by former successes. His garrison, however, was reduced to the last extremity; and he failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that, unless speedily relieved, he should be necessitated, from the extreme want of provisions and ammunition, to open his gates to the enemy.

The parliament, in order to repair their broken condition, and put themselves in a posture of defence, now exerted to the utmost their power and authority. They voted, that an army should be levied under Sir William Waller, whom, notwithstanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary caresses. Having associated in their cause the counties of Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, they gave the earl of Manchester a commission to be general of the association, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But, above all, they were intent that Essex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, should be put in a condition of marching against the king. And they engaged the city to send four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloucester. All shops, meanwhile, were ordered to be shut; and every man expected, with the utmost anxiety, the event of that important enterprize. Essex, carrying with him a well appointed army of fourteen thousand men, took the road of Bedford and Leicester; and, though inferior in cavalry, yet, by the mere force of conduct and discipline, he passed over those open champaign countries, and defended himself from the enemy's horse, who advanced to meet him, and who infested him during his whole march. As he approached to Gloucester, the king was obliged to raise the siege, and open the way for Essex to enter that city. The necessities of the gar-

risson were extreme. One barrel of powder was their whole stock of ammunition remaining; and their other provisions were in the same proportion. Essex had brought with him military stores; and the neighbouring country abundantly supplied him with victuals of every kind. The inhabitants had carefully concealed all provisions from the king's army, and, pretending to be quite exhausted, had reserved their stores for that cause which they so much favoured. The chief difficulty still remained. Essex dreaded a battle with the king's army, on account of its great superiority in cavalry; and he resolved to return, if possible, without running that hazard. He lay five days at Tewkesbury, which was his first stage after leaving Gloucester; and he feigned, by some preparations, to point towards Worcester. By a forced march during the night, he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage of passing unmolested an open country, and of surprising a convoy of provisions which lay in that town. Without delay, he proceeded towards London; but when he reached Newbury, he was surprized to find that the king by hasty marches, had arrived before him, and was already possessed of the place. An action was now unavoidable; and Essex prepared for it with presence of mind, and not without military conduct. On both sides, the battle was fought with desperate valour and a steady bravery. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained themselves in firm array; and, besides giving a continual fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against the furious shock of prince Rupert, and these gallant troops of gentry, of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. The militia of London especially, though utterly unacquainted with action, though drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, equalled on this occasion, what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Essex proceeded on his march; and though his rear was once put in some disorder by an incursion of the king's horse, he reached London in safety, and received applause for his conduct and success in the whole enterprize. The king followed him on his march; and having taken possession of Reading, after the earl left it, he there established a garrison; and straightened, by that means, London, and the quarters of the enemy. The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the mean time a plan was concerted by Waller, who was joined by Tomkins and Chaloner, against the illicit practices of the parliament: but being discovered by the treachery of a servant of Tomkins, they were all three apprehended, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. A covenant as a test, was taken, on the 6th of June, by the lords and commons, and imposed on their army, and on all who lived within their quarters. Besides resolving to amend and reform their lives, the covenanters there vow, that they will never lay down their arms so long as a papist, now in open war against the parliament, shall, by force of arms, be protected from justice; they express their abhorrence of the late conspiracy; and they promise to assist to the utmost the forces raised by both houses, against the forces levied by the king. Waller, as soon as imprisoned, sensible of the great danger into which he had fallen, was so seized with the dread of death, that all his former spirit deserted him; and he confessed whatever he knew, without sparing his most intimate friends, without regard to the confidence re-

\* The answer from the city was in these words: "We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message return this humble answer; that we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty, and

of his royal posterity; and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament: and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly."



posed in him, without distinguishing between the negligence of familiar conversation and the schemes of a regular conspiracy. With the most profound dissimulation, he counterfeited such remorse of conscience, that his execution was first put off, out of mere christian compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy of all sects; and while he expressed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information than in his life he had ever before attained. Presents too, of which, as well as of flattery, these holy men were not insensible, were distributed among them; as a small retribution for their prayers and ghostly counsel. And by all these artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which, during that time of furious cant and faction, small account would be made, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, and a fine of ten thousand pounds accepted in lieu of it.

In the north, during this summer, the great interest and popularity of the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king, and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. There appeared, however, in opposition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield, May 21, over a detachment of royalists, and took general Goring prisoner: the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborow, July 31, over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. But both these defeats of the loyalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of lord Fairfax, at Atherton moor, June 30, and the dispersion of his army. After this victory, Newcastle, with an army of 15,000 men, sat down before Hull. Hotham was no longer governor of this place. That gentleman and his son, partly from a jealousy entertained of lord Fairfax, partly repenting of their engagement against the king, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being detected, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell, both of them, victims to the severity of the parliament.

Newcastle, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was beat off by a sally of the garrison, on the 12th of October, and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester, who advanced from the eastern associated counties, having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horn Castle.

While the military enterprises were carried on with vigour in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eye towards the neighbouring kingdoms, and sought assistance for the finishing of that enterprise, in which their own forces experienced such furious opposition. The parliament had recourse to Scotland; the king to Ireland.

The English parliament, now fallen into great distress, by the progress of the royal arms, gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners, with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. The persons employed were the earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley, attended by Marshal and Nye, two clergymen of signal authority. In this negotiation, the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh, that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms; and

long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the subscribed, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. The Scots, now highly elated, thought of levying forces to assist their neighbours. By means of a hundred thousand pounds, which they received from England, they soon completed their levies: and having added, to their other forces, the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general, the earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men.

Charles, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon him, endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient; and he cast his eye towards Ireland, in hopes that this kingdom, from which his cause had already received so much prejudice, might at length contribute somewhat towards his protection and security. Having obtained some footing among the Irish, the king gave orders to Ormond and the justices to conclude, for a year, a cessation of arms with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Irish were governed, and to leave both sides in possession of the present advantages. The parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the opposite party, and who would not lose so fair an opportunity of reproaching the king with his favour to the Irish papists, exclaimed loudly against this cessation. Among other reasons, they insisted upon the divine vengeance, which England might justly dread, for tolerating antichristian idolatry, on pretence of civil discontents and political agreements. Religion, though every day employed as an engine of their own ambitious purposes, was supposed too sacred to be yielded up to the temporal interests or safety of kingdoms. After the cessation, there was little necessity, as well as no means, of subsisting the army in Ireland. The king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to send over considerable bodies of it to England. Most of them continued in his service: but a small part having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the parliament. Some Irish catholics came over with these troops, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed. The parliament voted, that no quarter, in any action, should be given them: but prince Rupert, by making some reprisals, soon repressed this inhumanity.

During the course of the war the king had hitherto, obtained many advantages over the parliament, and had raised himself from that low condition into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were reduced by the marquis of Newcastle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was master of no garrison in these quarters. In the well, Plymouth alone, having been in vain besieged by prince Maurice, resisted the king's authority; and had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprise of Gloucester, the royal garrisons had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other, and had occupied a greater extent of ground than those of the parliament.

The king, that he might make preparations, during the winter, for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either house, who adhered to his interests; and endeavoured to avail himself of the name of parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation. They met at Oxford in January, 1641. The house of peers was pretty full; and besides the nobility employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as commonly voted at Westminster. The house of commons consisted of



about one hundred and forty; which amounted not to above half of the other house of commons.

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of excise was unknown to them; and, among other evils arising from the domestic wars, was the introduction of that impost into England. The parliament at Westminster having voted an excise on beer, wine, and other commodities; those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And, in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by way of a loan upon the subject. The king circulated private seals, countersigned by the speakers of both houses, requiring the loan of particular sums from such persons as lived within his quarters. Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagonists with these illegal measures\*.

The king, it must be allowed, frequently solicited a treaty, that an end might be put to the troubles of England; and that he might abate the universal veneration paid to the name of parliament, he issued a declaration, in which he set forth all the tumults by which himself and his partizans in both houses had been driven from London; and thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty were restored, was entitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, some contrivance seemed requisite, in order to elude it. A letter was written, in the foregoing spring, to the earl of Essex, and subscribed by the prince, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen. They there exhort him to be an instrument of restoring peace, and to promote that happy end with those by whom he was employed. Essex replied, that as the paper sent him neither contained any address to the houses of parliament, nor any acknowledgement of their authority, he could not communicate it to them. Like proposals had been reiterated by the king, during the ensuing campaign, and still met with a like answer from Essex. In order to make a new trial for a treaty, the king this spring, sent another letter, directed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster: but as he also mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, and declared that his scope and intention was to make provision that all the members of both houses might securely meet in a full and free assembly, the parliament, perceiving the conclusion implied, refused all treaty upon such terms. And the king who knew what small hopes there were of accommodation, would not abandon the pretensions which he had assumed; nor acknowledge the two houses, more expressly, for a free parliament.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by one party, as he was respected by the other. At London, he was considered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by incessant labours for the interests of his country: at Oxford he was believed to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermin; as a mark of Divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treasons. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars, of which he had been one principal author, that the parliament thought themselves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted.

We now return to the military operations, which, during the winter, were carried on with vigour in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season. The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyn, in North Wales; and being put under the command of lord Biron, they besieged and took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington-House.

No place in Cheshire or the neighbourhood now adhered to the parliament, except Nantwich: and to this town Biron laid siege during the depth of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at so considerable a progress of the royalists, assembled an army of four thousand men in Yorkshire, and having joined Sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the enemy. Biron and his soldiers, elated with successes obtained in Ireland, had entertained the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces; a disposition which, if continued to the army, may be regarded as a good preage of victory; but if it extends to the general, is the most probable forerunner of a defeat. Fairfax suddenly attacked the camp of the royalists on the 25th of January. The swelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. That part exposed to Fairfax, being beaten from their post, retired into the church of Acton, and were all taken prisoners: the other retreated with precipitation. And thus was dissipated, or rendered useless, that body of forces which had been drawn from Ireland; and the parliamentary party revived in those north-west counties of England.

The invasion from Scotland, which happened about the middle of the same month, was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The Scots, having summoned in vain the town of Newcastle, which was fortified by the vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, passed the Tyne; and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thousand men. After some military operations, in which that nobleman reduced the enemy to difficulties for forage and provisions, he received intelligence of a great disaster which had befallen his forces in Yorkshire. Colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the 11th of April, who had returned from Cheshire with his victorious forces. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. But as the parliamentary and Scottish forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they contented themselves with incommoding it by a loose blockade; and affairs remained, for some time, in suspense between these opposite armies. During this winter and spring, other parts of the kingdom had also been infected with war. Hopetoun, having assembled an army of fourteen thousand men, endeavoured to break into Sussex, Kent, and the southern association, which seemed well disposed to receive him. Waller fell upon him at Cherington, and gave him a defeat of considerable importance, on the 29th of March. In another quarter, siege being laid to Newark, by the parliamentary forces, prince Rupert prepared himself for relieving a town of such consequence, which alone preserved the communication open between the king's southern and northern quarters. With a small force, but that animated by his active courage, he broke through the enemy, relieved the town, and totally dissipated that army of the parliament on the 21st of March. But though fortune seemed to have divided her favours between the parties, the king found himself in the main, a considerable loser by this winter campaign; and he prognosticated a still worse event from the ensuing summer. The preparations of the parliament were great, and much exceeded the slender resources of which he was possessed. In the eastern association, they levied fourteen thousand men, under the earl of Manchester, seconded by Cromwell. An army of ten thousand men, under Essex, another of nearly the same force under Waller, was assembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was destined to oppose the king: the latter was appointed to march into

\* The Westminster parliament passed a whimsical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week; and to pay the value of it for No. LVI.

the support of the public cause. It is easily imagined, that, provided the money were paid, they troubled themselves but little about the execution of their ordinance.



the west, where prince Maurice, with a small army which went continually to decay, was spending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconsiderable town upon the sea coast. The utmost efforts of the king could not raise above ten thousand men at Oxford; and on their sword chiefly, during the campaign, were these to depend for subsistence. The queen, terrified with the dangers which every way environed her, and afraid of being enclosed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where she hoped to be delivered unmolested of the child with which she was now pregnant, and whence she had the means of an easy escape into France, if pressed by the forces of the enemy. She knew the implacable hatred which the parliament, on account of her religion and her credit with the king, had all along borne her. Last summer the commons had sent up to the peers an impeachment of high-treason against her; because in his utmost distresses, she had assisted her husband with arms and ammunition, which she had bought in Holland.

From the commencement of these dissensions, the parliament, it is remarkable, had, in all things, assumed an extreme ascendant over their sovereign, and had displayed a violence, and arrogated an authority, which, on his side, would not have been compatible either with his temper, or his situation. While he spoke perpetually of pardoning all rebels; they talked of nothing but the punishment of delinquents and malignants: while he offered a toleration and indulgence to tender consciences; they threatened the utter extirpation of prelacy: to his professions of lenity, they opposed declarations of rigour; and the more the ancient tenor of the laws inculcated a respectful subordination to the crown, the more careful were they, by their lofty pretensions, to cover that defect under which they laboured. Their great advantages in the north seemed to second their ambition, and finally to promise them success in their unwarrantable enterprizes. Manchester, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity; and the parliamentary generals, after enduring great losses and fatigues, flattered themselves, that all their labours would at last be crowned by this important conquest. On a sudden they were alarmed by the approach of prince Rupert. This gallant commander, having vigorously exerted himself in Lancashire and Cheshire, had collected a considerable army; and, joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, hastened to the relief of York, with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston-Moor, purposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and, interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him that, having so successfully affected his purpose, he ought to be content with the present advantages, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions which had begun to take place among them. The prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, nor softened by complaisance, pretending positive orders from the king, without deigning to consult with Newcastle, immediately issued orders for battle, and led out an army at Mar-

ston-Moor, on the 2d of July. This action was obstinately disputed between the most numerous armies that were engaged during the course of these wars, nor were the forces on each side much different in number. Fifty thousand British troops were led to mutual slaughter; and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a short combat, the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise borne down, and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had first been ranged. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with some troops, broke through the royalists; and, transported by the ardour of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, engaged also in pursuit of the enemy. But after that tempest was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, restoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprised to find that they must again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged; and each army occupied the ground which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious and desperate with the first: but after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the side of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army pushed off the field of battle. This event was in itself a mighty blow to the king; but proved more fatal in its consequences. The marquis of Newcastle was entirely lost to the royal cause\*. When prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, resolved on this battle, and issued all orders, without communicating his intentions to him; he took the field, but, he said, merely as a volunteer; and except by his personal courage, which shone out with lustre, he had no share in the action. Enraged to find that all his successful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, and terrified with the prospect of renewing his pains and fatigue, he resolved no longer to maintain the few resources which remained to a desperate cause, and thought that the same regard to honour, which had at first called him to arms, now required him to abandon a party, where he met with such unworthy treatment. Next morning early he sent word to the prince that he was instantly to leave the kingdom; and, without delay, he went to Scarborough, where he found a vessel, which carried him beyond sea. During the ensuing years, till the restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and saw, with indifference, his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the government of England. He disdained, by submission or composition, to shew obedience to their usurped authority.

Prince Rupert drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. Glenham was obliged to fir-

\* That nobleman, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, into these military operations, merely by a high sense of honour, and a personal regard to his master. The dangers of war were disregarded by his valour; but its fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expence; polite and elegant in his taste, courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the party which he embraced. But amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the

soft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charm of poetry, music, and conversation, often stole him from his rougher occupations. He chose Sir William Davenant, an ingenious poet, for his lieutenant-general: the other persons in whom he placed confidence, were more the instruments of his refined pleasures, than qualified for the business which they undertook: and the severity and application requisite to the support of discipline, were qualities in which he was entirely wanting.



render York on the 16th of July; and he marched out his garrison with all the honours of war. Lord Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county, and sent a thousand horse into Lancashire, to join with the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert: the Scottish army marched northwards, in order to join the earl of Calender, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces; and to reduce the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm: the earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, to whom the fame of great victory was chiefly ascribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created earl of Brentford, acted, under the king, as general.

The parliament soon completed their two armies commanded by Essex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many speeches were made to the citizens by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to spare, on this important occasion, either their purses, their persons, or their prayers; and, in general, it must be confessed, they were sufficiently liberal in all these contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the king retired into that city, to lay siege to it, and by one enterprize put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, passed with dexterity, on the 3d of June, between the two armies, which had taken Abington, and had inclosed him on both sides. He marched towards Worcester; and Waller received orders from Essex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himself marched into the west in quest of prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only separated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence that the king was advanced to Bewdley, and had directed his course towards Shrewsbury. In order to prevent him, Waller presently dislodged, and hastened by quick marches to that town; while the king, suddenly returning upon his own footsteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, now in his turn marched out in quest of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-Bridge, near Banbury, on the 29th of the same month; but the Charwell ran between them. Next day the king decamped, and marched towards Daven-try. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss. Disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westwards against Essex. That general, having obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced still in his conquests, and met with no equal opposition. The king followed him, and having reinforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army superior to the enemy. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the parliament of his danger, and desired them to send an army, which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithil, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed them on one side; prince Maurice on another: Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Bal-

four with his horse passed the king's out-posts, in a thick mist, and got safely to a garrison of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition, on the 1st of September; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed\*.

That the king might have less reason to exult in the advantages which he had obtained in the west, the parliament opposed to him very numerous forces. Having armed anew Essex's subdued, but not disheartened troops, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell to march with their recruited forces from the eastern association; and joining their armies to those of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Essex, offer battle to the king. Charles chose his post at Newbury, where the parliamentary armies, under the earl of Manchester, attacked him with great vigour, on the 27th of October. Essex's soldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace of Lestithiel, made an impetuous assault upon the royalists; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. The king's troops were overpowered by numbers; and the night seasonably prevented a total overthrow. Charles, leaving his baggage and cannon in Dennington-Castle, near Newbury, northward retreated to Wainford, and thence to Oxford. There prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton joined him, with considerable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington-Castle. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army since his misfortune in Cornwall: Manchester, who commanded, though his forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwell's advice, who earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of finishing the war. The king's army, by bringing off their cannon from Dennington-Castle, in the face of the enemy, seemed to have sufficiently repaired the honour which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles having the satisfaction to excite, between Manchester and Cromwell, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller, distributed his army into winter quarters. Those contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter season; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a secret distinction, which though the dread of the king's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer and more immediate, began to discover itself, with high contest and animosity. The independents, who had, at first, taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the presbyterians, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions; and their pulpits resounded with political prayers and discourses.

A committee was chosen this year to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. This ordinance was the subject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the parliament and city into factions. But, at last, by the prevalence of envy with some; with others of true modesty; with a great many, of the republican views; it passed the commons, and was sent to the upper house. The peers, though the scheme was in part levelled against their order; though all of them were, at bottom, extremely averse to it; though they even ventured once to reject it; yet possessed so little authority, that they durst not persevere in opposing the resolution of the commons; and they

\* By this advantage, which was much boasted of, the king, besides the honour of the enterprize, obtained what he stood

extremely in need of: the parliament, having preserved the men, lost what they could easily repair.



thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin which they saw approaching. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both houses, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good services. A pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex.

It was agreed in 1645, to recruit the army to twenty-two thousand; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general\*. Fairfax was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and though strongly infected with prejudices, or principles derived from religious and party zeal, he seems never, in the course of his public conduct, to have been diverted, by private interest or ambition, from adhering strictly to these principles. Sincere in his professions; disinterested in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the most shining characters of the age; had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarrassed and confused elocution on every occasion but when he gave orders, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate.

During this important transaction of the self-denying ordinance, the negotiations for peace were likewise carried on, though with small hopes of success. The king having sent two messengers, one from Evesham, on the 4th of July, 1644, another from Tavistocke, on the 8th of September following, desiring a treaty, the parliament dispatched commissioners to Oxford, with proposals, as high as if they had obtained a complete victory. The advantages gained during the campaign, and the great distresses of the royalists, had much elevated their hopes: and they were resolved to repose no trust in men inflamed with the highest animosity against them; and who, were they possessed of power, were fully authorized by law to punish all their opponents as rebels and traitors. The king, when he considered the proposals and the disposition of the parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no prospect but of war, or of total submission and subjection: yet, in order to satisfy his own party, who were impatient for peace, he agreed to send the duke of Richmond and earl of Southampton, with an answer to the proposals of the parliament, and at the same time to desire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretensions. It now became necessary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two houses at Westminster were not a free parliament; and accordingly he was induced, though with great reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of the parliament of England. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter which he wrote to the queen, and of which a copy was taken at Naseby, that he secretly entered an explanatory protest in his council-book; and he pretended that, though he had called them the parliament, he had not thereby acknowledged them for such†. The time of place and treaty being settled, sixteen commissioners from the king met at Uxbridge, with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended by the Scottish commissioners. It was agreed,

that the Scottish and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands, with regard to three important articles, viz. religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively discussed in conference of the king's commissioners. It was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of these articles. In the summer of 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had summoned an assembly at Westminster, consisting of one hundred and twenty-one divines, and thirty laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphysical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the liturgy was entirely abolished, and, instead, a new directory for worship was established; by which, suitably to the spirit of the puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged in the public teachers. By the solemn league and covenant, episcopacy was adjudged, as destructive of all true piety: and a national engagement, attended with every circumstance that could render a promise sacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scots, never to suffer its re-admission. All these measures shewed little spirit of accommodation in the parliament; and the king's commissioners were not surprized to find the establishment of presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the covenant, both by the king and kingdom‡. The king agreed that the clergy should reside constantly in their diocese, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed; and that a hundred thousand pounds be levied on the bishops' estates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the parliament. These concessions, though considerable, gave no satisfaction to the parliamentary commissioners; and, without abating any thing of their rigour on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia. The king's partizans had all along maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the securities so early and easily given to public liberty, were either feigned or groundless; and that no human institution could be better poised and adjusted, than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the star-chamber and court of high commission, the prerogative, they said, had lost all that coercive power by which it had formerly suppressed or endangered liberty: by the establishment of triennial parliaments, it can have no leisure to acquire new powers, or guard itself, during any time, from the inspection of that vigilant assembly: by the slender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain such influence as to procure a repeal of these salutary statutes: and while the prince commands no military force, he will in vain by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, so clearly defined by means of late disputes, and so passionately cherished by all his subjects. But though the royalists insisted on these plausible topics before the commencement of war, they were obliged to own, that the progress of civil commotions had somewhat abated the force and evidence of this reasoning. If the power of the militia, said the opposite party, be entrusted to the king,

\* It is remarkable that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone: and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. So much had animosities increased between the parties.

† His words are: "As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: if there had been but two besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." *The King's cabinet opened.* Rush. vol. iv. p. 943.

‡ Such love of contradiction prevailed in the parliament,

that they had converted Christmas, which, with the churchmen, was a great festival, into a solemn fast and humiliation: "In order," as they said, "that it might call to remembrance our sins and the sins of our forefathers, who, pretending to celebrate the memory of Christ, have turned this feast into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights." Rush. vol. vi. p. 817. It is remarkable that, as the parliament abolished all holy days, and severely prohibited all amusement on the Sabbath; and even buried by the hands of the hangman, the king's book of sports; the nation found, that there was no time left for relaxation or diversion. Upon application, therefore, of the servants and apprentices, the parliament appointed the second Tuesday of every month for play and recreation. Rush. vol. viii. p. 300. Whitlocke, p. 247.



it would not now be difficult for him to abuse that authority. Charles offered, that the arms of the state should be entrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, the other half by the parliament. And after the expiration of that term, he insisted that his constitutional authority over the militia should again return to him. The parliamentary commissioners at first demanded, that the power of the sword should for ever be entrusted to such persons as the parliament alone should appoint: but, afterwards, they relaxed so far as to require that authority only for seven years: after which it was not to return to the king, but to be settled by bill, or by common agreement between him and his parliament. With regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The parliament demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given over entirely to the parliament, and that, after the conquest of Ireland, the nomination of the lord lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, should likewise remain in their hands.

The parliament even required the king to attain and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scottish, together with all popish recusants in both kingdoms who had borne arms for him. It was insisted, that forty-eight more, with all the members who had sitted in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbidden the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king, should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. As if the royal authority were not sufficiently annihilated by such terms, it was demanded, that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament: and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly. The presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed only in words from the independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose during twenty days among the commissioners, they separated and returned; those of the king, to Oxford, those of the parliament, to London.

A little before the commencement of this fruitless treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined resolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the same violent and imperious manner with which they had at first entered on these dangerous enterprizes. Archbishop Laud, the most favourite minister of the king, was brought to the scaffold. From the time that Laud had been committed, the house of commons, engaged in enterprizes of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; and he had patiently endured so long an imprisonment without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the bigoted prejudices of that nation revived a like spirit in England, and the sectaries resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate, who had so long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealous spirit under confinement. He was accused of high-treason in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The same illegality of an accumulative crime and a constructive evidence, which appeared in the case of Strafford, the same violence and iniquity in con-

ducting the trial, are conspicuous throughout the whole course of Laud's prosecution. The groundless charge of popery, though belied by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged against the prisoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was supposed to imply the height of all enormities. "This man, my lords," said serjeant Wilde, concluding his long speech against him, "is like Naaman the Syrian; a great man, but a leper." We shall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at present, seems to admit of little controversy. It suffices to say, that, after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the commons found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against Laud, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate\*. Laud, who had behaved during his trial with spirit and vigour of genius, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but though he had usually professed himself apprehensive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be dissipated before that superior courage by which he was animated. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go." Even upon the scaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was harassed and molested by Sir John Clotworthy, a zealot and leader in the lower house: this was the time he chose for examining the principles of the dying prelate, and trepanning him into a confession, that he trusted for his salvation to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer. Having extricated himself from these theological toils, the archbishop laid his head on the block; and it was severed from his body at one blow. Those religious opinions, for which he suffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and constancy of his end. The great and important advantage, which the party gained by Strafford's death, may, in some degree, palliate the iniquity of the sentence pronounced against him: but the execution of this old infirm prelate who had so long remained an inoffensive prisoner, can be ascribed to nothing but vengeance and bigotry in those severe religionists, by whom the parliament was entirely governed. That he deserved a better fate was not questioned by any reasonable man: the degree of his merit, in other respects, was disputed. Some accused him of recommending slavish doctrines, of promoting persecution, and of encouraging superstition; while others thought that his conduct, in these three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation.

While the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland, which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel. Before the commencement of these civil disorders, the earl of Montrose, a young nobleman of a distinguished family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made an offer of his services; but by the insinuations of the marquis, afterwards duke of Hamilton, who possessed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that distinction to which he thought himself justly entitled. Disgusted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and, agreeably to the natural ardour of his genius, he had employed himself, during the first Scottish insurrections, with great zeal, as well as success, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commissioned by the Tables to wait upon the king, while the royal army lay at Berwick, he was so gained by the civilities, and caresses of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service, and entered into a close correspondence with him. In the second insurrection, a great military command was entrusted to him by the covenanters, and he was the first

\* Notwithstanding the low condition into which the house of peers was fallen, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new

tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper house. Seven peers alone voted in this important question. The rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves.



that passed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England. He found means, however, soon after to convey a letter to the king: and by the infidelity of some about that prince; Hamilton, as was suspected; a copy of this letter was sent to Leven, the Scottish general. Being accused of treachery, and a correspondence with the enemy; Montrose openly avowed the letter, and asked the generals, if they dared to call their sovereign an enemy: and by this bold and magnanimous behaviour, he escaped the danger of an immediate prosecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles; and he endeavoured to draw those who had entertained like sentiments, into a bond of association for his master's service. Though thrown into prison for this enterprise\*, and detained some time, he was not discouraged; but still continued, by his countenance and protection, to infuse spirit into the distressed royalists. Among other persons of distinction, who united themselves to him, was lord Napier of Merchiston, son of the famous inventor of the logarithms, the person to whom the title of "great man" is more justly due, than to any other whom his country ever produced. There was in Scotland another party, who, professing equal attachment to the king's service, pretended only to differ with Montrose about the means of attaining the same end; and of that party, duke Hamilton was the leader. This nobleman had cause to be extremely devoted to the king, not only by reason of the connection of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favour with which he had ever been honoured by his master. Being accused by lord Rae, not without some reason of probability, of a conspiracy against the king, Charles was so far from harbouring suspicion against him, that, the very first time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and passed alone the night with him. But such was the duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he escaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and sovereign: and though he at last sacrificed his life in the king's service, his integrity and sincerity have not been thought by historians entirely free from blemish. Charles long paid attention to Hamilton; but was at last so much persuaded of his sinister intentions, that he sent him prisoner to Pendennis castle, in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was also put under confinement, found means to make his escape, and to fly into Scotland. The king's ears were now opened to Montrose's counsel, who proposed none but the boldest and most daring, agreeably to the desperate state of the royal cause in Scotland. Though the whole nation was subjected by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends who remained to the king, to raise such connections, as would soon oblige the malcontents to recall those forces, which had so sensibly thrown the balance in favour of the parliament. Not discouraged with the defeat at Marston-Moor, which rendered it impossible for him to draw any succour from England; he was content to stipulate with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, changing his disguises, and passing through many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and secretly prepared the minds of his partisans for attempting some great enterprise. No sooner were the Irish landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Atholl flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause; and

with this combined force, he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of six thousand men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in numbers, totally unprovided with horse, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he himself, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterprises, should inspire into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was answered chiefly by a volley of stones, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters, on the first of September, 1644. This victory, though it augmented the renown of Montrose, increased not his power or numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom was extremely attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause, were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a considerable army; Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouse again the marquis of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having before hastily taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy: the eldest was, at that time, a prisoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen the lord Burley, who commanded a force of two thousand five hundred men. After a sharp combat, he put the enemy to flight, and in the pursuit did great execution upon them, on the eleventh of the same month.

By this second advantage he obtained not the end which he expected. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montrose's glory, rendered him averse to join an army, where he himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, reinforced by the earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: the militia of the northern counties, Murray, Ross, Caithness, to the number of five thousand men, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude these numerous armies, he turned aside into the hills, and saved his weak, but active troops, in Badenock. After some marches and counter-marches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-cattle; and after some skirmishes, in which he was worsted, he allowed Montrose to escape him. By quick marches, through these inaccessible mountains, that general freed himself from the superior forces of the covenanters. Such was the situation of Montrose, that very good or very ill fortune was equally destructive to him, and diminished his army. After every victory his soldiers, greedy of spoil, but deeming the smallest acquisition to be unexhausted riches, deserted in great numbers, and went home to secure the treasures which they had acquired. Tired too, and worn out with hasty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through snowy mountains, unprovided with every necessary, they fell off, and left their general almost alone with the Irish, who having no place to which they could retire, still adhered to him in every fortune. With some reinforcements of the Atholmen, and the Donalds whom he had recalled, Montrose fell upon Argyle's country, and let loose upon it all the rage of war, carrying off the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. The severity, which Montrose sullied his victories, was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause. Argyle, collecting ten thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Fortlochy, supposing himself still at a considerable distance from them. The earl of Seaforth, at the head of

\* If it is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman; that he offered the king, when his majesty was in Scot-

land, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the king was in Scotland, Montrose was confined in prison. Rob. Vol. 4. p. 48



garrison of Inverness, who were veteran soldiers, joined to five thousand new-levied troops of the northern counties, pressed the royalists on the other side, and threatened them with inevitable destruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montrose hastened to Innerlochy, and presented himself in order of battle before the surprised, but not affrightened, covenanters. Argyle alone, seized with a panic, deserted his army, who still maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royalists. After a vigorous resistance, they were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter, on the 2d of February. And the power of the Campbell's, (that is Argyle's name,) being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, began to join Montrose's camp in great numbers. Seaforth's army dispersed of itself, at the very terror of his name. And Lord Gordon, eldest son of Huntley, having escaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother the earl of Aboine.

The council of Edinburgh, alarmed by Montrose's progress, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, against an enemy, whose repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation, from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again enlisted himself among the king's enemies, they sent them to the field, with a considerable army, against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant: and having carried it by assault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him. His conduct and presence of mind, in this emergence, appeared conspicuous. Instantly he called off his soldiers from plunder, sent them in order, secured his retreat by the most skilful measures; and having marched sixty miles in the face of an enemy much superior, without stopping, or allowing his soldiers the least sleep or refreshment, he at last secured himself in the mountains. Baillie and Urrey now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war against an enemy, who surprised them, as much by the rapidity of his marches, as by the boldness of his enterprises. Urrey, at the head of four thousand men, met him at Alderne, near Inverness; and, encouraged by the superiority of numbers, (for the covenanters were double the royalists,) attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose, having placed his right wing in strong ground, drew the best of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by shewing a few men through the trees and bushes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leisure to perceive the stratagem, he instantly led his left wing to the charge; and, making a furious impression upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory. In this battle, the valour of young Napier, son to the lord of that name, shone out with signal lustre. Baillie now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's discomfiture; but, at Alford, he met himself with a like fate on the 2d of July. Montrose, weak in cavalry, here lined his troops of horse and infantry; and after putting the enemy's horse to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, who were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant Lord Gordon, on the part of the royalists. And having thus prevailed in so many battles, which his vigour ever rendered as decisive as they were successful, he summoned together all his friends and partizans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and dissipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and solemnity, they had summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's.

While the fire was thus kindled in the north of the island, it blazed out with no less fury in the south: the parliamentary and royal armies, as soon as the season

would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing this important quarrel to a quick decision. The passing of the self-denying ordinance had been protracted by so many debates and intrigues, that the spring was far advanced before it received the sanction of both houses; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, so near the time of action, such great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Essex engaged him, amidst all the disgusts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the parliament; this alteration had not been effected without some fatal incident: since, notwithstanding his prompt resignation of the command, a mutiny was generally apprehended. Fairfax, or more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced at last a *new model* into the army, and threw the troops into a different shape. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands, as the independents could rely on. Besides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction. Though the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorously executed, by these new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffused over the one party as well as the other, during this period: discipline was also attained by the forces of the parliament: but the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, seems still, on both sides, to have been, in a great measure, wanting.

Never surely was a more singular army assembled, than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: the officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, exhortations; and the same emulation there attended them, which, in the field, is so necessary to support the honour of that profession. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervour. The private soldiers, having the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, in ghastly consequences, where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field resounded, as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as with the instruments of military music; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger, in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom, and the hurry and dangers of action, instead of banishing their pious visions, rather served to impress their minds more strongly with them. These exercises we cannot but think laudable and worthy of imitation. The royalists were desirous of throwing a ridicule on this spirit of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number, to their adversaries; but actuated by a very different spirit. That licence, which had been introduced by want of pay, had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the soldiery, had indulged the troops in unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the spirit of disorder; and the licentious Goring, Gerrard, and Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of enormity.



enormity. In the west especially, where Goring commanded, universal spoil and havoc were committed, and the whole country was laid waste by the rapine of the army. All distinction of parties being in a manner dropped, the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy wished there for such success to the parliamentary forces, as might put an end to these oppressions. The country people, despoiled of their substance, flocked together in several places, armed with clubs and staves; and though they possessed an enmity to the soldiers of both parties, their hatred was in most places levelled chiefly against the royalists, from whom they had met with the worst treatment. Many thousands of these tumultuary peasants were assembled in different parts of England, who destroyed all such straggling soldiers as they met with, and much infested the armies.

The disposition of the forces on both sides was as follows: part of the Scottish army was employed in taking Pontefract, and other towns in Yorkshire: part of it besieged Carlisle, valiantly defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by Sir William Brereton; and was reduced to great difficulties. The king, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford with a considerable army, about fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were posted at Windsor, with the new-modelled army, about twenty-two thousand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, suffered a long siege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about eight thousand men; and though the defence had been obstinate, the garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. Goring commanded, in the west, an army of nearly the same number. On opening the campaign, the king formed the project of relieving Taunton. The king was first in motion. When he advanced to Drayton in Shropshire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army had withdrawn. Fairfax having reached Salisbury in his road westward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay siege to Oxford, now exposed by the king's absence. He obeyed, after sending colonel Weldon to the west, with a detachment of four thousand men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax, with his whole army was upon him, raised the siege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: but the royalists, being reinforced with three thousand horse under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in that ruinous place.

The king having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, returned southwards; and, in his way, sat down before Leicester, a garrison of the parliament's. Having made a breach in the wall, he stormed the town on all sides; and, after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders to which their natural violence, especially when enflamed by resistance, is so much addicted. A great booty was taken and distributed among them: fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the king's hands. This success, which struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which, he apprehended, was now begun; and both armies, before they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. A council of war was called by the king, in order to deliberate concerning the measures which he should now pursue. On the one hand, it seemed more prudent to delay the combat; because Gerrard, who lay in Wales with three thousand men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the

army; and Goring, it was hoped, would soon be master of Taunton; and having put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the king, and give him an incontestible superiority over the enemy. On the other hand, prince Rupert, whose boiling ardour still pushed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: the resolution was taken to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well-disputed action, between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king himself; the right wing by prince Rupert, the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army: Cromwell in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his usual celerity and success, by prince Rupert. Though Ireton made stout resistance, and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was that whole wing broken, and pressed with precipitate fury by Rupert: he was even so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The king led on his main body, and displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a stout soldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground. The infantry of the parliament was broken, and pressed upon by the king, till Fairfax, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve, and renewed the combat. Meanwhile Cromwell, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by his prudence improved that advantage which he had gained by his valour. Having pursued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: and that general, excited by so steady a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and, having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him\*. Prince Rupert, sensible too late of his error, left the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the disadvantages under which they laboured, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The slain, on the side of the parliament, exceeded those on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made five hundred officers prisoners, and four thousand private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition; and totally dissipated his infantry: so that scarce any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained†.

After the battle, the king retreated with that body of horse

\* The soldier afterwards boasting that he had won this trophy, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action: "Let him retain that honour, said Fairfax, I have to day acquired enough beside."

† Among the other spoils was seized the king's cabinet,

with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect dishonour on him: yet upon the whole, the letters are written with delicacy and tenderness, and give an advantageous idea both of the king's



horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, from the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. Fairfax, having first retaken Leicester, June 17, which was surrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprises. A letter was brought him written by Goring to the king, and unfortunately entrusted to a spy of Fairfax's. Goring there informed the king, that in three weeks he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would join his majesty with all the forces in the west; and entreated him, in the meanwhile, to avoid coming to any general action. This letter, which, had it been safely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naseby, served now to direct the operations of Fairfax. After leaving a body of three thousand men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the king's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force which now remained to the royalists. In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, had sent the prince of Wales, then fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised, July 20; and the royalists retired to Lampport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, beat them from it, killed about three hundred men, and took fourteen hundred prisoners. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong and of great consequence in that country. When he had entered the outer town by storm, Windham the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of two thousand, six hundred men, were made prisoners of war, on the 23d of the same month. Fairfax, having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to lay siege to Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprise, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of prince Rupert, the governor, was deemed of the last importance. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax, September 11\*. Charles, who was forming schemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, June 28, after an obstinate siege, marched southwards and laid siege to Hereford; but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach: and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces under colonel Jones; Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle on the 24th of September. While the fight was continued with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, Jones fell upon them from the other side, and put them to rout, with the loss of six hundred slain, and one thousand prisoners. The king, with the re-

mains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season. The news which he received from every quarter were no less fatal than those events which passed where he himself was present. Fairfax and Cromwell, after the surrender of Bristol, having divided their forces, the former marched westwards, in order to complete the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall; the latter attacked the king's garrisons which lay to the east of Bristol. The Devizes were surrendered to Cromwell; Berkeley Castle was taken by storm: Winchester capitulated: Basinghouse was entered sword in hand: and all the middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament. The same rapid and uninterrupted success attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elated by past victories, met with no equal opposition from troops disheartened by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. After beating up the quarters of the royalists at Bovey-Tracy, Fairfax sat down before Dartmouth on the 18th of January, 1646, and in a few days entered it by storm. Poudram Castle being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on both sides, Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to the relief of that town, with an army of eight thousand men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated, February 19, all his foot dispersed, and he himself, with his horse, obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him; and having inclosed the royalists at Truro, he forced the whole army, consisting of five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms†. Thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed the conquest of the west, marched, with his victorious army, to the center of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, and thence to Jersey; whence he went to Paris; where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the west.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by surprise: Chester surrendered: lord Digby, who had attempted, with twelve hundred horse, to break into Scotland and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by colonel Copley; his whole force was dispersed; and he himself was obliged to fly, first to the Isle of Man, thence to Ireland. News too arrived that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was at last routed; and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguished. When Montrose descended into the southern counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without success, at Kilsyth, on the 15th of August, 1645. This was the most complete victory that Montrose ever obtained. The royalists put to the sword six thousand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was shaken with these repeated successes of Montrose; and many noblemen, who secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. The marquis of Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, and Carnegie, with many others, flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the prisoners there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest was lord Ogilvy, son of Airly, whose family had contributed extremely to the victory gained at Kilsyth.

which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it.

† The soldiers, delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and receive twenty shillings a-piece, to carry them to their respective abodes. Such of the officers as desired it, had passes to retire beyond sea: the others, having promised never more to bear arms, paid compositions to the parliament, and procured their pardon.

genius and morals. A mighty fondness, it is true, and attachment, he expresses to his consort, and often professes that he never would embrace any measures which she disapproved: but such declarations of civility and confidence, are not always to be taken in a full literal sense. And so legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excusable towards a woman of beauty and spirit, even though she was a papist.

\* A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in No. LVII.



David Leslie was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still farther to the south, in hopes of rousing to arms the earls of Hume, Traquair, and Roxborough, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England some supply of cavalry, in which he was deficient. By the negligence of his scouts, Leslie, at Philip-haugh in the Forest, surprized his army, much diminished in numbers, from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted great valour, his army was routed by Leslie's cavalry, September 13, 1645: and he himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for new battles and new enterprises\*. After these repeated disasters, which every where beset the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Apsley, with a small army of three thousand men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated on the 22d of March, himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your work," said Apsley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves."

We have before-mentioned, that the king shut himself up in Oxford; and that he might the better conceal his intentions from the inhabitants of the town, orders were given, at every gate of the city, for allowing three persons to pass. In the night, the king, accompanied by one doctor Hudson, and Mr. Athburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Athburnham's servant. He, in fact, came so near London, that he once entertained some thoughts of entering that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. At last, after passing through many cross-roads and by-ways, he arrived at the Scots camp before Newark, and discovered himself to lord Leven, the Scots general. The Scots, who had before given him some general assurances of their fidelity and protection, now seemed greatly surprized at his arrival among them. Instead of bestowing a thought on his interests, they instantly entered into a consultation upon their own. The commissioners of their army sent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament, and declared that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time they prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering all his garrisons to the parliament, with which he complied. In return for this condescension, they treated him with very long sermons among the ecclesiastics, and with the most cautious reserve, but very different from respect among the officers. The preachers of the party, indeed, insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung, which begins,

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,  
Thy wicked deeds to praise."

The king stood up, and called for that psalm, which begins with these words,

"Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,  
For men would me devour."

The audience accordingly sung this psalm in compassion to majesty in distress.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered upon a treaty with the Scots,

about delivering up their prisoner. The Scots had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in order to prevent their plundering the country; much of this, however, remained unpaid, from the unavoidable necessities of the times, and much more was claimed by the Scots than was really due. Nevertheless, they now saw this a convenient time for insisting on their arrears; and they resolved to make the king the instrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and insisted upon many particulars, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds, they would deliver up the king to his enemies; and this was cheerfully complied with. An action so atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home, laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men. The king being delivered to the parliamentary commissioners, he was conducted under a guard to Holmby Castle, in Northamptonshire†.

The civil war was now over; the king had absolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament now had no enemy to fear, except those very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the divisions between the independents and the presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the house were of the presbyterian sect; but the majority of the army were staunch independents.

Soon after the retreat of the presbyterian party seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and to send the rest to Ireland. It was proposed, that for every reason the army were as unwilling to disband as to be led over into a country as yet uncivilized, uncultivated, and barbarous. Cromwell took care to inspire them with a horror of either, they loved him for his bravery and religious zeal, and still more for his seeming affection to them. Instead, therefore, of preparing to disband, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. This the commons, in turn, treated with great severity; they voted that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland: and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace. The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had secured the general tranquillity, while they were, at the same time, deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. In opposition, therefore, to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men of each company to represent the house of commons, and these were called the Agitators of the Army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived a very easy method of conducting and promoting the sedition of the army. This fierce assembly having debated for a very short time, declared, that they found many grievances to be redressed; and began by specifying such as they desired to be most speedily removed. The same conduct which had formerly been used with success by the par-

\* The covenanters used the victory with rigour. Their prisoners, Sir Robert Spotiswood, secretary of state, and son to the late primate, Sir Philip Nisbet, Sir William Rollo, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie, son of the bishop of Murray, and William Murray, son of the earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The sole crime, imputed to the secretary, was his delivering to Montrose the king's commission to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken prisoner, would have under-  
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the same fate, had not his sister found means to procure his escape, by changing cloaths with him. For this instance of courage and dexterity, she met with harsh usage. The clergy solicited the parliament, that more royalists might be executed; but could not obtain their request.

† They treated him in confinement with the most rigorous severity, dismissing all his ancient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.



liament against their sovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands: these accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alledged, that the king had been deposed only to make way for their usurpations. The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holmby Castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby Castle, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a taylor, but who, in the present confusion of all ranks and orders, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Without any opposition he entered the king's apartment, armed with pistols, and told him that he must prepare to go with him. "Whither?" said the king: "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king: Joyce pointed to his followers. "Your warrant," replied Charles, "is wrote in fair characters." And then, without further delay, he went into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were halting to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a settled design in the army to prescribe laws to their employers; and they did not fail to spread the alarm through the city. But it was too late to resist; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; so that the commons now began to think of temporizing. The declaration, by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journal-book. But all submission was become vain; the army still rose in their demands in proportion as those demands were gratified, until at last they entirely threw off the mask, and claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation. But as too precipitate an assumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house of high-treason, and enemies to the army\*. At last the citizens of London, who had been ever foremost in sedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the constitution was totally overturned. They saw an oppressive parliament now subjected to a more oppressive army; they found their religion abolished, their king a captive, and no hope of redress but from another scene of slaughter. In consequence, therefore, the common council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned, and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the house of commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote which they passed so lately†. This assembly was now divided into parties, as usual; one party siding with the seditious citizens; while the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In such an universal confusion, it was to be expected that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly, the two speakers, with sixty two members, secretly retired from the house, and threw themselves under the pro-

tection of the army, that were then at Hounslow-Heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations; their integrity was extolled; and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to re-instate them in their former seats and stations. In the mean time, that part of the house that was left behind, resolved to act with vigour, and resist the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers; they gave orders for enlisting troops; they ordered the train bands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was thought at a distance; for when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of their members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower, was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton-Court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand; and the presbyterians in the name of either house, on the other hand, treated separately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would, like a froward child, hushed with its own importunities, settle into its former tranquil constitution. However, in all his miseries and doubts, though at first led about with the army, and afterwards kept a prisoner by them at Hampton, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a monarch; and he never one moment sunk from the consciousness of his own superiority. It is true, that at first he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction, he was permitted to converse with his old servants, his chaplains were admitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld such an affecting scene before; and we must do justice to the general's feelings, as he was himself a tender father. But those flattering instances of respect and submission were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the independents began to abate of their expressions of duty and respect. The king, therefore, was now more strictly guarded; they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private, and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with false dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety. The spies and creatures of that cunning man were sedulously employed in raising the king's

\* The members accused were the leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king, and now, in their turn, were threatened with popular resentment. As they were the leading men in the house, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army, on their diminution, they voluntarily left the house rather than be compelled to withdraw. Their names

were, Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nicholas. This accusation was made June 16, 1647.

† In this manner was this wretched house, intimidated on either side, obliged at one time to obey the army, at another, to comply with the commands of the city table.



terrors, and representing to him the danger of his situation. These at length prevailed, and Charles resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Cromwell considered, that if he should escape the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition; if he should be apprehended, the late attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologize for any succeeding severity. Early in the evening the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back-stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Leg, both gentlemen of his bed chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and travelling through the forest all night, arrived at Titchfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the shore, and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which Ashburnham had promised to be in readiness, was not to be seen. At Titchfield he deliberated with his friends, upon his next excursion, and they advised him to cross over to the Isle of Wight, where Hammond was governor, who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of one doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauspicious protector it was resolved to have recourse; Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before to exact a promise from this officer, that if he would not protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprized at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alleged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Titchfield, with a guard of soldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles, no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the governor, but the king repressed his ardour. When Hammond came into his presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate; and, without further delay, attended him to Carisbrook-Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where he at first found himself treated with marks of duty and respect. While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament, new-modelled as it was by the army, was every day growing more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious division among them. Nor were his fears without just cause; for had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, and the boldness of his activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state of ungovernable phrenzy.

The Scots perhaps ashamed of the reproach of having sold their king, and stimulated farther by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raised an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the duke of Hamilton: while Langdale, who professed himself at the head of the most bigoted party, who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his separate body, and both invaded the north of England. Their two armies amounted to about twenty thousand men. But Cromwell at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle; he attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner, and following his advantage, entered Scotland, where he settled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax, at the same time, and with the same ease; and nothing but success attended all this bold usurper's criminal attempts.

During these contentions, the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrook, continued to negotiate with the parliament for settling the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom. The parliament saw no other method of

destroying military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abolish episcopacy, though he consented to destroy the liturgy of the church. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the designs of their generals, than from the attempts of the king; and, for the first time, they seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations. But all was now too late; their power was soon totally to expire; for the rebellious army, crowned with success, was returned from the destruction of their enemies; and, sensible of their own power, with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. At the same time they advanced to Windsor; and sending an officer to seize the king's person, where he was lately sent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurst-Castle, in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this harsh proceeding, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit the next day with his army; and, in the meantime, ordered them to raise him forty thousand pounds upon the city of London. The commons, however, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with fresh vigour. After a violent debate, which had lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by a majority of a hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon, in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the last attempt in his favour; for the next day Colonel Pride\*, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding sixty. The atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights, commonly passed by the name of Pride's purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, after the constitution had been destroyed; after the parliament had been ejected; after the religion of the country had been abolished; after the bravest and the best of its subjects had been slain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deserves the name, was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this assembly, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and on their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was, therefore, resolved that an high court of justice should be appointed to try his majesty for this new invented treason. For form-sake they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house; but here there was virtue enough left unanimously to reject the horrid proposal. But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; they voted that the people were the origin of all just power; a fact which, though true, they never could bring home to themselves! Colonel

\* This colonel was formerly a drayman.

† To add to their zeal, a woman of Hertfordshire, illumi-

nated by prophetic visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation which she had received from Heaven.



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Charles I. taking leave of his family after being sentenced to loose his head by the parliament.



Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst Castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person \*. He had been long attended only by an old decrepid servant, whose name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet crying out, "My dear master." The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." These were severe distresses; however, he could not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial: but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private assassination. From the 6th to the 20th of January, 1648, was spent in making preparations for his extraordinary trial †. The court of justice consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members were principally composed of the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-Hall. The king was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high-court to take his trial ‡. When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still sustained the dignity of a king: he surveyed the members of the court with an intrepid haughty air; and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war: at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him, that the court expected his answer. The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. That he was himself the king and fountain of law; and, con-

sequently, could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent: that having been entrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded in usurpation: that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for, the constitution. Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted, that they had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted, and over-ruled the king in his attempts to reply. In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created court; as he was proceeding thither he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! justice! execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges, having now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him §.

The conduct of the king under all these instances of low-bred malice was great, firm, and equal; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out justice and execution. They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Among other insults, one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. "Poor souls," cried he, "they would treat their general in the same manner for six-pence." Those of the populace, who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier more compassionate than the rest, could not help imploring a blessing upon his royal head. An officer overhearing him, struck the honest sentinel to the ground before the king, who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence. At his return to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say; thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them, and thy head too they will cut off at last, and therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in

assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort; and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

\* He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety, than by the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a solitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. "The king is much changed," said the earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: "He is extremely improved of late." "No;" replied Sir Philip; "he was always so: but you are now at last sensible of it."

† "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell in the house, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but, since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself,"

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self," subjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications."

‡ While the cryer was calling over the names of the commissioners for trying him, nobody answered for lord Fairfax; and a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from whence the voice proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

§ He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered his request as an artifice to delay justice.



pieces first \*." Every night during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early; and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banqueting House to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues with his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinson, and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masques. The people in great crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a great distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example. That he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preserve that authority entire, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors; but though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted all his people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor, and signified his attachment to the protestant religion as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert. While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him: "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to Heaven, and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten,—a crown of glory!" "I go, replied the king, from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." "You exchange, replied the bishop, a temporal for an eternal crown, a good exchange!" Charles having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember †." Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from his body at a blow, while the other holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor ‡."

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy; and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impression on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it with more precision and satisfaction to himself from the detail of

his conduct, than from any summary given of it by the historian. It will suffice to say, that all his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues, and he possessed many, were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the spirit of the constitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he sunk, the constitution in ruins around him. Many kings before him expired by treasons or assassinations; but never since the time of Agis, the Lacedæmonian, was there any other sacrificed by his subjects with all the formalities of justice. Many were the miseries sustained by the nation in bringing this monarch to the block, and more were yet to be endured previous to the settlement of the constitution; yet these struggles in the end were productive of domestic happiness and security, the laws became more precise, the monarch's privileges better ascertained, and the subjects' duty better delineated; all became more peaceable, as if a previous fermentation in the constitution was necessary for its subsequent refinement.

King Charles I. was buried the 9th of February, 1649, in Henry the Eighth's vault, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. By his queen Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Henry IV. king of France, he had four sons: 1. Charles, born March 18, 1628, and died the same day. 2. Charles, prince of Wales, born May 29, 1630, afterwards king Charles II. 3. James, duke of York and Albany, born October 14, 1633, afterwards king James II. 4. Henry, duke of Gloucester, and earl of Cambridge, born at Oatlands, July 8, 1640; died September 13, 1660. He had also four daughters: 1. Mary, born November 4, 1631; married to William, prince of Orange, and mother of king William III. 2. Elizabeth, born December 28, 1631, died in Carisbrook Castle, September 8, 1650. 3. Anne, born March 17, 1636, died December 8, 1640. 4. Henrietta-Maria, born at Exeter, June 16, 1644, married to Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to king Lewis XIV.

In our account of the reign of the unfortunate Charles I. we have followed the opinions of the best writers of English history: but from its being asserted, that the Independents bore a principal part in the transactions of the latter years of that monarch's reign, and particularly in his death, we should be careful to distinguish between the *civil* and the *religious* independents; and that our readers may be able to form a just idea of the religionists who bore that appellation, we shall here present them with a faithful account of their rise, principal tenets, and progress.

The independents, who, together with the puritans and presbyterians, bore a part in the subversion of the government in England, are generally represented by the writers of English history in a much worse light than the presbyterians. They are commonly accused of various enormities, and are even charged with the crime of parricide, as having borne a principal part in the death of the king. But whoever will be at the pains of examining, with impartiality and attention, the writings of that sect, and their confession of faith, must soon

\* This determined answer, from an infant of such tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy, and his heart with admiration.

† This single word gave great uneasiness to Cromwell and his adherents: great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the general vehemently insisted with the prelate, that he should inform them of the king's meaning. Juxon told them, that the king having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild

spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.

‡ The spectators testified their horror at that sad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations, the tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either with an active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears and unfeigned repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.



perceive, that many crimes have been imputed to them without foundation, and will probably be induced to think, that the bold attempts of the civil independents, (i. e. of those warm republicans who were the declared enemies of monarchy, and wanted to extend the liberty of the people beyond all bounds of wisdom and prudence,) have been unjustly laid to the charge of those independents, whose principles were merely of a religious kind. The religious independents derive their denomination from the following principle, which they held in common with the Brownists, that every Christian congregation ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, presbyteries, or any ecclesiastical assembly composed of the deputies from different churches\*. It is in this notion of ecclesiastical government, that the difference between them and the presbyterians principally consists; for their doctrines, except in some points of very little moment, are almost entirely the same with those that are adopted by the church of Geneva. The founder of this sect was John Robinson, a man who had much of the solemn piety of the times, and was master of a congregation of Brownists, that had settled at Leyden. This well-meaning man, perceiving the defects that reigned in the discipline of Brown, and in the spirit and temper of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and in modelling anew the society, in such a manner, as to render it less odious to his adversaries, and less liable to the just censure of those Christians who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment. The independents, accordingly, were much more commendable than the Brownists in two respects. They surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments, and in the order of their discipline. They did not, like Brown, pour forth bitter and uncharitable invectives against the churches that were governed by rules entirely different from theirs, nor pronounce them on that account, unworthy of the Christian name. On the contrary, though they considered their own form of ecclesiastical government as of divine institution, and as originally introduced by the authority of the apostles; nay, by the apostles themselves; yet they had candour and charity enough to acknowledge, that true religion and solid piety might flourish in those communities, which are under the jurisdiction of bishops, or the government of synods and presbyteries. They were also much more attentive than the Brownists, in keeping on foot a regular ministry in their communities; for while the latter allowed promiscuously all ranks and orders of men to teach in public, and to perform the other pastoral functions, the independents had, and still have, a certain number of ministers, chosen respectively by the congregations where they are fixed; nor is any person among them permitted to speak in public, before he has submitted to a proper examination of his capacity and talents, and been approved of by the heads of the congregation. This community, which was originally formed

in Holland, in the year 1610, made at first but a very small progress in England; it worked its way slowly, and, it may be said, in a clandestine manner; and its members concealed their principles from public view, to avoid the penal laws that had been enacted against non-conformists. But during the reign of Charles I. when, amidst the shocks of civil and religious discord, the authority of the bishops and the cause of episcopacy began to decline, and more particularly about the year 1640, the independents grew more courageous, and came forth with an air of resolution and confidence to public view. After this period, their affairs took a prosperous turn; and, in a little time, they became so considerable, both by their numbers and by the reputation they acquired, that they vied in point of pre-eminence and credit, not only with the bishops, but also with the presbyterians, though at this time in the very zenith of their power. This rapid progress of the independents was, no doubt, owing to a variety of causes; among which justice obliges to reckon the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and sanctity of their manners. During the administration of Cromwell, whose peculiar protection and patronage they enjoyed on more than one account, their credit arose to the greatest height, and their influence and reputation were universal; but after the restoration of Charles II. their cause declined, and they fell back gradually into a kind of obscurity. The sect, indeed, still subsisted, but in such a state of dejection and weakness, as engaged them, in the year 1691, under the reign of king William, to enter into an association with the presbyterians residing in and about London, under certain heads of agreement that tended to the maintenance of their respective institutions.

From this time they were called United Brethren. The heads of agreement that formed and cemented this union are to be found in the second volume of Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, and they consist in nine articles. The first relates to churches and church members, in which the united ministers, presbyterians and independents, declare, among other things, that each particular church had a right to choose their own officers, and being furnished with such as were only qualified and ordained according to the Gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself.—That, in the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be) to rule and govern; and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the Gospel. In this both presbyterians and independents depart from the primitive principles of their respective institutions. Article II. relates to the ministry, which they grant to have been instituted by Jesus Christ, for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church; in this article it is further observed, that ministers ought to be endued with competent learning, sound judgement, and solid piety; that none are to be ordained to the work of

\* The independents were undoubtedly so called from their maintaining, that all Christian congregations were so many independent religious societies, that had a right to be governed by their own laws, without being subject to any further or foreign jurisdiction. Robinson, the founder of the sect, makes express use of this term in explaining his doctrine relating to ecclesiastical government: *Cetum quemlibet particularum*, (says he, in his *Apologia*, cap. v. p. 22.) *Esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et INDEPENDENTER (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo*. It may possibly have been from this very passage, that the title of independents was originally derived. The disciples of Robinson did not reject it, nor indeed is there any thing shocking in the title, when it is understood in a manner conformable to the sentiments of those to whom it is applied. It was certainly utterly unknown in England before the year 1640; at least it is not once mentioned in the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions that were drawn up, during that year, in the synods or visitations held by the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and other prelates, in which canons all the various sects, that then subsisted in England, are particularly men-

tioned. See Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. IV. cap. v. p. 548. where are the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy, in their several synods. An. MDCXL. From the year 1642, we find this denomination very frequently in the English Annals. The English independents were so far from being displeased with it, that they assumed it publicly in a piece they published in their own defence at London, in the year 1644, under the following title: "Apologetical Narration of the Independents." But when in process of time, a great variety of sects, as has been already observed, sheltered themselves under the cover of this extensive denomination, and even seditious subjects, that aimed at nothing less than the death of their sovereign and the destruction of the government, employed it as a mask to hide their deformity, then the true and genuine independents renounced this title, and substituted another less odious in its place, calling themselves "Congregational Brethren," and their religious assemblies "Congregational Churches."



the ministry, but such as are chosen and called thereunto by a particular church; that, in such a weighty matter, it is ordinarily requisite that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations; and that after such advice the person thus consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them. Article III. relates to censures, and prescribes first the admonishing, and, if this prove ineffectual, the excommunication of offending and scandalous members, to be performed by the pastors, with the consent of the brethren. Article IV. concerning the communion of churches, lays it down as a principle, that there is no subordination between particular churches; that they are all equal, and consequently independent; that the pastors, however, of these churches, ought to have frequent meetings together, that, by their mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord. In Article V. which relates to Deacons and Ruling Elders, the United Brethren acknowledge, that the office of a deacon is of divine appointment, and that it belongs to their office to receive, lay out, and distribute the stock of the church to its proper uses; and as there are different sentiments about the office of ruling elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, they agree, that this difference makes no breach among them. In Article VI. concerning Occasional Meetings of Ministers, &c. the brethren agree, that it is needful, in weighty and difficult cases, that the ministers of several churches meet together, in order to be consulted and advised with about such matters; and that particular churches ought to have a reverential regard to their judgement so given, and not dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God. Article VII. which relates to the Demeanor of the Brethren towards the Civil Magistrate, prescribes obedience to, and prayers for God's protection and blessing upon, their rulers. In Article VIII. which relates to a Confession of Faith, the brethren esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of the articles of the church of England or the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, drawn up by the Presbyterians, or the Confession of Congregational Brethren, (*i. e.* the Independents,) to be agreeable to the said rule. Article IX. which concerns the duty and deportment of the Brethren towards those that are not in communion with them, inculcates charity and moderation.

While Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government in Great-Britain, all sects, even those that dishonoured true religion in the most shocking manner by their fanaticism or their ignorance, enjoyed a full and unbounded liberty of professing publicly their respective doctrines. The episcopalians alone were excepted from this toleration, and received the most severe and iniquitous treatment. The bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and felt the heavy hand of oppression in a particular manner. But though the toleration extended to all other sects and religious communities, yet the presbyterians and independents were treated with peculiar marks of distinction and favour.

Cromwell, though attached to no one particular sect, gave the latter extraordinary proofs of his good will, and augmented their credit and authority, as this seemed the easiest and least exasperated method of setting bounds to the ambition of the presbyterians, who aimed at a very high degree of ecclesiastical power.

Notwithstanding the obscurity which the independents fell into during the reign of Charles II. they enjoyed more liberty of conscience under the auspicious reign of king William III. and his successors, inasmuch that they are now exceedingly numerous, and their congregations appear greatly to flourish. Add to this, that the purity of their lives deserve the highest praise, and their exact method of dealing merit the most scrupulous imitation.

### C H A P. III.

#### THE COMMONWEALTH.

It is natural to imagine, that after the barbarous murder of Charles I. England was overspread with anarchy and confusion. Every man had framed to himself the model of a republic; and, however fantastical his ideas were, he was eager to recommend them to his fellow-citizens; and, if any should express a different opinion, he was branded with the opprobrious epithets of villain and traitor to the constitution; and was told, that he deserved the death of the tyrant Charles\*. What alone could give stability to the unsettled humours of the nation was, the unbounded influence, both civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwell. Transported to a degree of madness with religious extasies, he never forgot the political purposes to which they might be made subservient.

The parliament †, for so a small part of the house of commons ‡ must now be called, many of the members not caring to give sanction to the enormities committed by the rest, after having been the base murderers of their sovereign, named a council of state, consisting of thirty-eight members §. All addresses were to be made to this council; they were to give orders to all naval and military officers; they were to execute the laws; and they were to digest all business before it were introduced into parliament. By the terror of their arms did these settlers of the commonwealth find England in a seeming coincidence with the generality of their measures.

The presbyterians, notwithstanding the power and authority of the independents ||, refused to model their government according to the republican form. They declared that, as the execution of the king had occasioned a vacancy in the throne, his son ought to be declared his successor. And as they knew that the establishers of the commonwealth in England had no authority in Scotland, he was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 3d of February, 1649.

On the 6th of March, James, duke of Hamilton, Henry Rich, earl of Holland, and Arthur, lord Capel, were condemned to death by a new court, for being found in arms against the parliament, and they were beheaded six days after. On the 17th of the same month they passed an act for abolishing kingly government, and for turning the monarchy into a commonwealth. Shortly after, in April, Charles II. gave a

\* The Levellers, as they were called, insisted on an equal distribution of power and property, and disclaimed all dependence and subordination. The Millenarians, or fifth-monarchy men, required, that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The Antinomians even insisted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine, were superior to the *beggarly elements* of justice and humanity. Such were the various notions disseminated by the different sectarists.

† Under the title of the Representative of the Commonwealth.

‡ The house of commons, on the 5th of February, voted

the house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and therefore passed an order for its abolition; and two days afterwards they voted the abolition of the kingly office in England.

§ Their names were the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury, lords Grey and Fairfax, Lisle, Rolls, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haselrig, Harrington, Vane, jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Puresfoy, and Jones.

|| Who had passed an act forbidding the proclamation of Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, or any other person,



commission to James Graham, marquis of Montrose, to raise a numerous body of forces in Germany, and with them to invade Scotland. May the 3d following, Mr. Dorilaus, who had acted in the capacity of counsellor at the trial of Charles I. and who was now agent for the parliament at the Hague, was assassinated there, by twelve English and Scotch cavaliers. A few days afterwards about four thousand levellers took to arms at Burford, under the command of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general; but by the vigilance of Fairfax, they were quickly dispersed. Near four hundred of them were taken prisoners; some of them were capitally punished; the rest were pardoned. About the same time Oliver Cromwell was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The marquis of Ormond was now at the head of the malcontents in Ireland, and after having taken Dundalk, Newry, Trim, Drogheda, and other places, he laid siege to Dublin. Upon the news of his approach to the capital, Cromwell sent a reinforcement of four thousand horse and foot, under the command of Reynolds and Venables, to the garrison of that place. On the 2d of August, colonel Jones, the governor of the castle, made a sally, and defeated the troops under the marquis's command. In the interval Cromwell arrived at Dublin with an army of fifteen thousand men; and soon after the siege of Londonderry was raised by Sir Richard Coote. On the 11th of September Cromwell took Drogheda by storm\*, and also obtained possession of Kilkenny.

This month Charles intended to leave the Hague and set sail for Ireland; but, changing his design, he landed in Jersey, an island on the coast of Normandy, belonging to the English, whither George Windram, laird of Liberton, repaired to him from the estates of Scotland. The king received him with great complacency, and named Breda as the most proper place to treat with the Scottish commissioners. The covenanters accordingly repaired to the place agreed upon; but they were not vested with any power of treating: the king must submit, without reserve, to the terms imposed upon him. The substance of the terms were, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons, that is, all those who, either under Hamilton or Montrose had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject, who had served against the parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself, by his royal promise, to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament, by which presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith, and the catechism, were

established; and that in civil affairs he should entirely conform himself to the direction of parliament, and in ecclesiastical to that of the assembly. After passing some time in sermons and prayers, in order to express the more determined resolution, these proposals were solemnly delivered to the king by the commissioners, about the middle of March, 1650. It should, however, be remarked, that previous to the arrival of the commissioners at Breda, the king had caused the marquis of Montrose to land his forces in Scotland, in order, if possible, to free him, in some measure, from accepting the terms of the covenanters. In April his troops were defeated, and himself was taken prisoner†: in May, the marquis was tried, condemned‡, and hanged and quartered, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, at Edinburgh§. The negotiations between the king and the commissioners continued till June following, when the king embarked at Scheveling for Scotland; but before they would suffer him to land, he was obliged to take the covenant.

The parliament now resolved to make war upon Scotland; and, as a necessary step, to recall Cromwell from his government in Ireland. He accordingly returned to England, and left the administration of affairs in that country to Ireton, his deputy. About the same time Thomas, lord Fairfax, general of the parliamentary forces in England, threw up his commission, because he disliked the war with Scotland, and Cromwell was chosen in his stead. The Scots too made warlike preparations, and raised an army of upwards of thirty thousand men; the command of which they gave to general David Leslie. In July, Cromwell entered Scotland at the head of nineteen thousand men. He met with great difficulties, by reason of the shortness of provisions, and therefore prepared to return to England: but the Scotch pursuing him, an engagement happened at Dunbar, Sept. 3, in which Cromwell came off victorious. Soon after he became master of Edinburgh, and laid siege to the castle, which surrendered in December following.

This misfortune to the Scots proved of some service to the king. They were obliged, in some measure, to change their political mode of proceeding; and they came to a resolution to admit the Hamilton's, under some restrictions, to favour and to promotion. Another party protested against this transaction. Hence the appellations of Resolutioners and Protesters. The king then, by the desire of the presbyterians, published a very extraordinary declaration||, with a view to gain the protesters; but instead of gaining them, it tended rather to make him lose the confidence of both parties. Hereupon the king withdrew from St. Johnstone's, with a

\* Cromwell issued orders to give no quarter, and the garrison were immediately butchered. Even a few who were saved by the soldiers, satiated with blood, were on the following day miserably slaughtered by orders from the general. One man of the garrison only escaped.

† Hume tells us, that Montrose, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies by one whom he supposed to be his friend, and to whom he had entrusted his person.

‡ The sentence pronounced against him on the 20th of May, was, "That he, James Graham, (for they disdained to give him his title of marquis of Montrose,) should next day be carried to Edinburgh cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty feet high for the space of three hours: then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison: his legs and arms be stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom: his body to be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors: except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication."

§ When led forth to execution his undaunted and firm spirit was observed, and the governing party, who found, that every effort they had hitherto made to cause dejection in him, had proved fruitless, had one more expedient to make use of. In this last and melancholy scene, when all enmity, arising from motives merely human, is commonly softened and disarmed, the executioner brought that book, which had been published in elegant Latin, of his great military exploits, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montrose smiled at this new instance

of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and said, that he bore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the garter. Having asked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

|| In this declaration, wherein he was compelled to speak a language agreeable to the sentiments of the people, though very different from his own, he confessed the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family. He acknowledged that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his father's door. He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible. He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been enmity against the work of God. He repented of his commission to Montrose, and of every thing he had done that gave offence. And with solemn protestations he affirmed, that he was now sincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life in Scotland, England, and Ireland. When the declaration was offered him to sign, he appeared at first resolute to reject it; saying, "That if he signed, he was never more to look his mother in the face." But upon a representation of its absolute necessity to gain him the good will and confidence of the protesters, without which, he was told, he could never be in a condition to execute his designs, he swallowed the truly bitter pill, and the declaration was made public.



view to put himself at the head of the malcontents; but was shortly after invited back again, and treated with more respect.

On the 1st of January, 1651, the king was crowned at Scoon, in Scotland, with great pomp and solemnity. About the same time Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, were sent by the parliament of England to Holland, to negotiate an union between that country and the states: but herein they did not succeed.

In the spring of this year an army was raised in Scotland, into which the Hamilton's and the king's friends were admitted. The king put himself at the head of this army, which consisted of fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, and encamped at Torwood; to which place Cromwell advanced, but dared not attack him, as he was strongly entrenched. Hereupon Cromwell conveyed his army into Fifeshire, by which he got behind the king, who now relinquished his post, and entering England, advanced as far as Carlisle, where he was proclaimed by his army; but he did not meet with the assistance he was led to expect. Cromwell followed him, and left major-general Monk to command in Scotland, where he became master of Stirling. The king continuing his march arrived at Worcester, and was proclaimed there by his army on the 22d of August. Soon after the earl of Derby was defeated at the head of fifteen hundred horse near Wigan, but found means to escape to the king.

On the 1st of September general Monk took Dundee, in Scotland; and the same day Cromwell arrived at Worcester. Cromwell's army amounted to about thirty thousand men, and with them, on the 3d of the same month, he attacked Worcester on all sides; and meeting with little resistance, except from duke Hamilton and general Middleton, he broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strewn with dead. Hamilton was mortally wounded; Massey was wounded and taken prisoner; and the king himself,

having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly through St. Martin's gate\*. Nearly the whole of the Scottish army was killed or taken prisoners, during the battle: and the greater part of those who escaped the sword of Cromwell's forces were put to death by the country people, who were very inveterate against the Scots. The earl of Derby was taken prisoner during this rencounter, and was beheaded at Bolton, on the 15th of October. After the battle of Worcester, Cromwell returned to London, where he arrived on the 21st of September.

In November, the parliament made an act prohibiting the importation of all foreign commodities, except upon English bottoms, or such as were of the country from whence the commodities came. This circumstance greatly affecting the trade between England and Holland, gave rise to a war between the English and the Dutch. On the 25th of December following, the states sent an embassy to England to solicit a revocation of that act, and to endeavour to avert the war; accordingly negotiations were entered into at London, but they were concluded without any effect. War was therefore declared; and in the spring of 1652 the English and Dutch fleets under the command of Blake and Van Trump, had an engagement off Dover, but which obtained the victory is hard to determine. Notwithstanding this, the Dutch used all their endeavours to pacify the parliament; but their efforts proving ineffectual, they recalled their ambassadors, and manifestos were published by both nations. In the beginning of August, the Dutch admiral Martin Van Trump put to sea with a fleet of seventy sail; but this fleet was dispersed by a tempest. On the 16th of the same month, the Dutch admiral De Ruyter was convoying, with thirty-four ships, a fleet of merchant ships through the Channel, when he was overtaken by Sir George Ayscough, and a furious engagement ensued, which was fought with equal bravery on both sides, till

\* The king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without making any of them acquainted with his intentions. By the direction of the earl of Derby he went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself. Penderell had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward offered to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, who were equally honourable with himself; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed upon such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. While in this situation he perceived several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king; and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes to seize him. This tree was afterwards denominated *The Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration. Charles's fear of discovery prompted him to join lord Wilmot, who was in a similar predicament in the neighbourhood: they agreed to put themselves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots and countrymen's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback. In this situation he travelled to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been so faithful to him. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he might find a ship, in which he might transport himself. The colonel obtained a pass (it being exceedingly necessary in these turbulent times) for his sister Jane Lane, and a servant to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending her relation, who was then pregnant. The king rode before the lady, and personated the servant. When they arrived at Norton's, (for that was the name of the relation,) Mrs. Lane pretended that she had brought along with her, as servant, a poor lad, the son of a neighbouring farmer,

who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him, where he might be at rest. Though Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, soon knew him: the king was now really alarmed, but he made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement. No ship, it was found, would, for a month, set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain; and the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He entrusted himself to colonel Windham of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family. As he often passed through the hands of the catholics, the *Priest's Hole*, as they called it, the place where they were obliged to conceal their persecuted priests, was sometimes employed for sheltering their distressed sovereign. Windham, before he received the king, asked leave to entrust the important secret to his wife, his mother, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could rely. Of all these, no one proved wanting either in honour or discretion. The venerable old matron on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandchild, in defence of his father, she was now reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of himself. The king continued several days in Windham's house; and all his friends in Britain, and in every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspense with regard to his fortunes: no one could conjecture whether he were dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant search of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape; but he still met with disappointments. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures; assumed different disguises; in every step was exposed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham in Sussex a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He had been known to so many, that if he had not let fall in that critical moment, it would have been almost impossible for him to have effected his escape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Feschamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment and escape. Vide *Harley*, ch. ix.